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FROM THE

DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT

BY GEORGE BANCROFT

VOL. I.

[illegible] EDITION

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PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION

I HAVE formed the design of writing a History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent to the present time. As the moment arrives for publishing a portion of the work, I am impressed more strongly than ever with a sense of the grandeur and vastness of the subject; and am ready to charge myself with presumption for venturing on so bold an enterprise. I can find for myself no excuse but in the sincerity with which I have sought to collect truth from trust-worthy documents and testimony. I have desired to give to the work the interest of authenticity. I have applied, as I have proceeded, the principles of historical skepticism, and, not allowing myself to grow weary in comparing witnesses, or consulting codes of laws, I have endeavored to impart originality to my narrative, by deriving it from writings and sources which were the contemporaries of the events that are described. Where different nations or different parties have been engaged in the same scenes, I have not failed to examine their respective reports. Such an investigation on any country

would be laborious; I need not say how much the labor is increased by the extent of our republic, the differences in the origin and early government of its component parts, and the multiplicity of topics, which require to be discussed and arranged.

Much error had become incorporated with American history. Many of the early writers in Europe were only careful to explain the physical qualities of the country; and the political institutions of dependent colonies were not thought worthy of exact inquiry. The early history was often written with a carelessness which seized on rumors and vague recollections as sufficient authority for an assertion which satisfied prejudice by wanton perversions, and which, where materials were not at hand, substituted the inferences of the writer for authenticated facts. These early books have ever since been cited as authorities, and the errors, sometimes repeated even by considerate writers, whose distrust was not excited, have almost acquired a prescriptive right to a place in the annals of America. This state of things has increased the difficulty of my undertaking, and, I believe, also, its utility; and I cannot regret the labor which has enabled me to present, under a somewhat new aspect, the early love of liberty in Virginia; the causes and nature of its loyalty; its commercial freedom; the colonial policy of Cromwell; the independent spirit of Maryland; the early institutions of Rhode Island; and the stern independence of the

New England Puritans. On these and other points, on which I have differed from received accounts, I appeal with confidence to the judgment of those who are critically acquainted with the sources of our early history.

I have dwelt at considerable length on this first period, because it contains the germ of our institutions. The maturity of the nation is but a continuation of its youth. The spirit of the colonies demanded freedom from the beginning. It was in this period, that Virginia first asserted the doctrine of popular sovereignty; that the people of Maryland constituted their own government; that New Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, New Hampshire, Maine, rested their legislation on the popular will; that Massachusetts declared itself a perfect commonwealth.

In the progress of the work, I have been most liberally aided by the directors of our chief public libraries; especially the library at Cambridge, on American history the richest in the world, has been opened to me as freely as if it had been my own.

The arrangement of the materials has been not the least difficult part of my labor. A few topics have been anticipated; a few, reserved for an opportunity where they can be more successfully grouped with other incidents. To give unity to the account of New Belgium, I reserve the subject for the next volume.

For the work which I have undertaken will necessarily extend to several volumes. I aim at being concise; but also at giving a full picture of

the progress of American institutions. The first volume is now published separately; and for a double motive. The work has already occasioned long preparation, and its completion will require further years of exertion; I have been unwilling to travel so long a journey alone; and desire, as I proceed, to correct my own judgment by the criticisms of candor. I have thought that the public would recognize the sincerity of my inquiries, and that, in those states where the materials of history have as yet been less carefully collected, and less critically compared, I should make for myself friends disposed to assist in placing within my reach the sources of information which are essential to success.

June 16, 1834.

The volume, of which a third edition is now published, has been carefully revised, and several pages rewritten. The expressions of regard and interest which I have received from persons of very opposite relations in speculative and in practical life, cheer me in the continuance of my labor; they cannot increase my sense of the duty of impartiality.

BOSTON, *May* 1, 1838

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HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES

INTRODUCTION.

The United States of America constitute an essential portion of a great political system, embracing all the civilized nations of the earth. At a period when the force of moral opinion is rapidly increasing, they have the precedence in the practice and the defence of the equal rights of man. The sovereignty of the people is here a conceded axiom, and the laws, established upon that basis, are cherished with faithful patriotism. While the nations of Europe aspire after change, our constitution engages the fond admiration of the people, by which it has been established. Prosperity follows the execution of even justice; invention is quickened by the freedom of competition; and labor rewarded with sure and unexampled returns. Domestic peace is maintained without the aid of a military establishment; public sentiment permits the existence of but few standing troops, and those only along the seaboard and

on the frontiers. A gallant navy protects our commerce, which spreads its banners on every sea, and extends its enterprise to every clime. Our diplomatic relations connect us on terms of equality and honest friendship with the chief powers of the world; while we avoid entangling participation in their intrigues, their passions, and their wars. Our national resources are developed by an earnest culture of the arts of peace Every man may enjoy the fruits of his industry; every mind is free to publish its convictions. Our government, by its organization, is necessarily identified with the interests of the people, and relies exclusively on their attachment for its durability and support. Even the enemies of the state, if there are any among us, have liberty to express their opinions undisturbed; and are safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat their errors. Nor is the constitution a dead letter, unalterably fixed; it has the capacity for improvement; adopting whatever changes time and the public will may require, and safe from decay, so long as that will retains its energy. New states are forming in the wilderness; canals, intersecting our plains and crossing our highlands, open numerous channels to internal commerce; manufactures prosper along our water-courses; the use of steam on our rivers and rail-roads annihilates distance by the acceleration of speed. Our wealth and population, already giving us a place in the first rank of nations, are so rapidly cumulative, that the former is increased fourfold, and the latter is

doubled, in every period of twenty-two or twenty-three years. There is no national debt; the community is opulent; the government economical; and the public treasury full. Religion, neither persecuted nor paid by the state, is sustained by the regard for public morals and the convictions of an enlightened faith. Intelligence is diffused with unparalleled universality; a free press teems with the choicest productions of all nations and ages. There are more daily journals in the United States than in the world beside. A public document of general interest is, within a month, reproduced in at east a million of copies, and is brought within the reach of every freeman in the country. An immense concourse of emigrants of the most various lineage is perpetually crowding to our shores; and the principles of liberty, uniting all interests by the operation of equal laws, blend the discordant elements into harmonious union. Other governments are convulsed by the innovations and reforms of neighboring states; our constitution, fixed in the affections of the people, from whose choice it has sprung, neutralizes the influence of foreign principles, and fearlessly opens an asylum to the virtuous, the unfortunate, and the oppressed of every nation.

And yet it is but little more than two centuries, since the oldest of our states received its first permanent colony. Before that time the whole territory was an unproductive waste. Throughout its wide extent the arts had not erected a monument. Its only

inhabitants were a few scattered tribes of feeble barbarians, destitute of commerce and of political connection. The axe and the ploughshare were unknown. The soil, which had been gathering fertility from the repose of centuries, was lavishing its strength in magnificent but useless vegetation. In the view of civilization the immense domain was a solitude.

It is the object of the present work to explain how the change in the condition of our land has been accomplished; and, as the fortunes of a nation are not under the control of blind destiny, to follow the steps by which a favoring Providence, calling our institutions into being, has conducted the country to its present happiness and glory.

COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY VOYAGES. FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

THE enterprise of Columbus, the most memorable maritime enterprise in the history of the world, formed between Europe and America the communication which will never cease. The national pride of an Icelandic historian has indeed claimed for his ancestors the glory of having discovered the western hemisphere. It is said, that they passed from their own island to Greenland, and were driven by adverse winds from Greenland to the shores of Labrador; that the voyage was often repeated; that the coasts of America were extensively explored, and colonies established on the shores of Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. It is even suggested, that these early adventurers anchored near the harbor of Boston, or in the bays of New Jersey; and Danish antiquaries believe that Northmen entered the waters of Rhode Island, inscribed their adventures on the rocks of Taunton River, gave the name of Vinland to the south-east coasts of New England, and explored the inlets of our country as far as Carolina. But the story of the colonization of America by Northmen, rests on narratives, mythological in form, and obscure in meaning; ancient, yet not contemporary. The

CHAP. I. 1492

1000, or 1003

CHAP. I. chief document is an interpolation in the history of Sturleson, whose zealous curiosity could hardly have neglected the discovery of a continent.[1] The geographical details are too vague to sustain a conjecture; the accounts of the mild winter and fertile soil are, on any modern hypothesis, fictitious or exaggerated; the description of the natives applies only to the Esquimaux, inhabitants of hyperborean regions; the remark which should define the length of the shortest winter's day, has received interpretations, adapted to every latitude from New York to Cape Farewell; and Vinland has been sought in all directions, from Greenland and the St. Lawrence to Africa.[2] The nation of intrepid mariners, whose voyages extended beyond Iceland and beyond Sicily, could easily have sailed from Greenland to Labrador; no clear historic evidence establishes the natural probability that they acccomplished the passage.

Imagination had conceived the idea, that vast inhabited regions lay unexplored in the west; and poets had declared, that empires beyond the ocean would one day be revealed to the daring navigator.[3] But Colum-
1492. bus deserves the undivided glory of having realized that belief. During his lifetime he met with no adequate recompense. The self-love of the Spanish monarch was offended at receiving from a foreigner in his employ benefits too vast for requital; and the contemporaries of the great navigator persecuted the merit which they could not adequately reward. Nor had posterity been

1 Antiquitates Americanæ, Hafniæ, 1837. The chief work. Schöning's ed. of Sturleson, i. 304—325 Thorfæus, Winlandia Antiqua. A. de Humboldt, Examen Critique, ii. 124, &c. Of American writers, Wheaton's Northmen, 22—28; Belknap's Amer Biog. i. 47—58; Moulton's New York, i. 110—125; Irving's Columbus, iii. 292—300; E. Everett, in N. A. Review, xlvi. 161—203.

2 Antiq. Americanæ, 289, 291, 296.

3 Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella, ii. 117 Pulci. c. xxv. st. 229—232

mindful to gather into a finished picture the memorials CHAP. I.
of his career, till the genius of Irving, with candor, lib-
erality, and original research, made a record of his 1492
eventful life, and in mild but enduring colors sketched his sombre inflexibility of purpose, his deep religious enthusiasm, and the disinterested magnanimity of his character.

Columbus was a native of Genoa. The commerce of the middle ages, conducted chiefly upon the Mediterranean Sea, had enriched the Italian republics, and had been chiefly engrossed by their citizens. The path for enterprise now lay across the ocean. The states which bordered upon the Atlantic, Spain, Portugal, and England, became competitors for the possession of the New World, and the control of the traffic which its discovery was to call into being; but the nation which, by long and successful experience, had become deservedly celebrated for its skill in navigation, continued for a season to furnish the most able maritime commanders. Italians had the glory of making the discoveries, from which Italy derived no accessions of wealth or power.

In the new career of western adventure, the Amer- 1497
ican continent was first discovered under the auspices of June 24
the English, and the coast of the United States by a native[1] of England. In the history of maritime enterprise in the New World, the achievements of John and Sebastian Cabot are, in boldness, success, and results, second only to those of Columbus. The wars of the houses of York and Lancaster had ceased; tranquillity and thrifty industry had been restored by the prudent

[1] History of the Travayles in the East and West Indies, by R. Eden and R. Willes, 1577, fol. 267. "Sebastian Cabot tolde me, that he was borne in Brystow," &c

CHAP. I. 1496. severity of Henry VII.; the spirit of commercial activity began to be successfully fostered; and the marts of England were thronged with Lombard adventurers The fisheries of the north had long tempted the merchants of Bristol to an intercourse with Iceland;[1] and the nautical skill, necessary to buffet the storms of the Atlantic, had been acquired in this branch of northern commerce. Nor is it impossible, that some uncertain traditions respecting the remote discoveries which Icelanders had made in Greenland towards the north-west, "where the lands[2] did nearest meet," should have excited "firm and pregnant conjectures." The magnificent achievement of Columbus, revealing the wonderful truth, of which the germs may have existed in the imagination of every thoughtful mariner, won the admiration which was due to an enterprise that seemed more divine than human, and kindled in the breasts of the emulous a vehement desire to gain as signal[3] renown in the same career of daring; while the politic king of England desired to share in the large returns, which were promised by maritime adventure. It was, therefore, not difficult for John Cabot, a Venetian merchant, residing at Bristol, to engage Henry VII. in plans for discovery.

1496. Mar. 5. He obtained from that monarch a patent,[4] empowering himself and his three sons, or either of them, their heirs, or their deputies, to sail into the eastern, western, or northern sea, with a fleet of five ships, at their own proper expense and charges; to search for

[1] Selden, Mare Clausum, b. ii. c. 32.

[2] Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII.

[3] Conversation respecting Seb. Cabot, reported in Ramusio, Discorso sopra li Viaggi delle Spetierie, i. fol. 402, ed. 1554. Hak. iii. 28. Hakluyt's reference to Ramusio is wrong. The passage from Ramusio is also in Eden's Travayles, ed. 1577, fol. 267.—De Thou, Hist. l. xliv.

[4] See the patent in Hakluyt, iii. 25, 26; Chalmers's Polit. Annals, 7, 8; Hazard's Hist. Coll. i. 9.

islands, countries, provinces, or regions, hitherto unseen by Christian people; to affix the banners of England on any city, island, or continent, that they might find; and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories that might be discovered. It was further stipulated in this "most ancient American state paper of England,"[1] that the patentees should be strictly bound in their voyages to land at the port of Bristol, and to pay to the king one fifth part of the emoluments of the navigation; while the exclusive right of frequenting all the countries that might be found, was reserved, unconditionally and without limit of time, to the family of the Cabots and their assigns. Under this patent, containing the worst features of colonial monopoly and commercial restriction, John Cabot[2] and his celebrated son Sebastian, embarked for the west. Of what tempests they encountered, what mutinies they calmed, no record has been preserved. The discovery of the American continent,[3] probably in the latitude of fifty-six degrees, far, therefore, to the north of the Straits of Belle-Isle, among the polar bears, the rude savages, and the dismal cliffs of Labrador, was the fruit of the voyage.

CHAP. I. 1496

1497 June 24.

It has been attempted to deprive the father of the glory of having led the expedition. The surest documentary evidence confirms his claims. He and his son Sebastian first approached the continent, which no European had dared to visit, or had known to exist.

1 Chalmers, 7.

2 Second patent to John Cabot, of Feb. 3, 1498, first printed in R. Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, 75. The extract from the map of Sebastian Cabot is equally explicit. Hakluyt, iii. 27.

3 Extract from Cabot's map, in Hakluyt, i. 27. Ramusio sopra li viaggi, &c. i. fol. 402. The map of Ortelius, in his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, gives the island St. John in latitude fifty-six degrees. The work of Ortelius, in the editions of 1584 and of 1592, is at Cambridge.

CHAP. I. 1497. The navigators hastened homewards to announce their success. Thus the discovery of our continent was an exploit of private mercantile adventure; and the possession of the new-found "land and isles" was a right vested by an exclusive patent in the family of a Bristol merchant. Yet the Cabots derived little benefit from the expedition, which their genius had suggested, and of which they alone had defrayed the expense. Posterity hardly remembered, that they had reached the American continent nearly fourteen months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came in
1498 sight of the main land; and almost two years before
1499. Aug. 1. Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries. But England acquired through their energy such a right to North America, as this indisputable priority could confer. Henry VII. and his successors recognized the claims of Spain and Portugal, only so far as they actually occupied the territories to which they laid pretension; and, at a later day, the English parliament and the English courts derided a title, founded, not upon occupancy, but upon a grant from the Roman pontiff.[1]

1498. Confidence and zeal awakened; and Henry grew circumspect in the concession of rights, which now seemed about to become of immense value. A new
Feb. 3 patent[2] was issued to John Cabot, less ample in the privileges which it conferred; and his son Sebastian, a native of Bristol, a youthful adventurer of great benevolence and courtesy, daring in conception and patient in execution, a man whose active mind for more than half a century was employed in guiding the commercial enterprise which the nations of the west were develop-

1 Debates of the House of Commons, 1620 and 1621, i. 250, 251.

2 Stow's Chronicle, 1498, in Hakluyt, iii. 30, 31. Memoir of Cabot, 75 and 80—86.

CHAP. I. 1498.

ing, and whose fame has been recently vindicated with ingenious diligence, pursued the paths of discovery which he, with his father,[1] had opened. A voyage was again undertaken; of which the frugal king himself shared the expense.[2] Its object was, in part, to engage in traffic that should prove immediately profitable; in part, to explore "what manner of landes these Indies were to inhabit;"[3] a hope was also entertained of reaching the rich empire of Cathay, and gaining easier and more direct access by the west to the real and the fabled wealth of Asia. Embarking in the spring-time or early summer of 1498,[4] with three hundred men, to reach the North Seas,[5] he directed his course so far towards the pole, that he came where, in the month of July, the light of day was almost continual.[6] The land was free from frost,

[1] Humboldt: Histoire de la Geographie du nouveau Continent, i. 279; iv. 217, 218. To doubt the voyage of 1497 would imply that dates and documents had been forged or tampered with; and yet, why does Peter Martyr of Anghiera make no allusion but to the one of 1498?

[2] Memoranda of the king's expenses in Biddle's Memoir, Second Edition, 86. Gomara, cap. xxxix.

[3] Gomara, c. xxxix. Gomara was a native of Seville, where Cabot so long resided, and published his account in 1552; some years before Cabot's death.

[4] Stowe's Annals, in Biddle, 81. Compare Peter Martyr of Anghiera, Dec. vii. c. ii. with Dec. vi. c. ix.

[5] In describing the voyage, I follow chiefly the History of Peter Martyr of Anghiera, the personal friend of Cabot, whose words and declarations he repeatedly cites. He wrote his account in 1515, while Cabot was his associate in office and his frequent companion and guest.

[6] Peter Martyr of Anghiera does not mention the degree of latitude at which Cabot turned towards the South. An incorrect Summary of his work printed at Venice in 1543 (see Biddle, 83), states that it was at 55°. The first volume of Ramusio's Collection of Voyages and Travels, first printed in 1550, contains a Discorso sopra varii Viaggi, &c., in which a conversation, held long before with Cabot, at Seville, is reported from memory. There (Ramusio, i. fol. 402, 403,) he is said to have reached the 56th degree. This passage in Ramusio was translated into English, and published by Eden during Cabot's lifetime. Gomara, in 1552, allows Cabot to arrive at fifty-eight degrees. The preliminary discourse to the third volume of Ramusio is dated the twentieth of June, 1553; in that Preface, a letter received years before from Cabot himself, is apparently cited from memory, and the latitude attained is said to have been sixty-seven degrees and a half;

CHAP. I. 1498. but the ocean was so covered with massive icebergs, that he was compelled to turn his sails, and coast along the shore. He landed in many places; the natives whom he encountered were clad in skins of wild beasts, and he related that they knew the use of copper. He continued his voyage towards the south and west, nor did he turn homeward till he had been nearly opposite Albemarle Sound, and in the same longitude with Cuba.

Such is the account of the great voyage of Sebastian Cabot, preserved by his contemporary and friend. Curiosity desires to trace the further career of the illustrious mariner, who, with his father, gave to England[1] a claim to a continent, although the occupation of it was delayed. The maps which he sketched of his discoveries, and the accounts which he wrote of his adventures, have perished; and the next years of his life are involved in obscurity. But his career was, in the issue, as honorable, as it had in the opening been glorious. He conciliated universal regard by

yet the first article in that third volume, printed in 1556, is the Summary of Anghiera's work, in which the latitude is given at 55°. See Ramusio, iii. fol. 35 D. Again, in the same volume, Ed. 1565, at fol. 417, there is a Discourse, in which Cabot is said to have reached the latitude of sixty-seven degrees. This discourse was, perhaps, not printed till 1565; and if so, the preliminary discourse to Ramusio's third volume, notwithstanding its date, may not have been printed till 1565, that is, eight years after Ramusio's death.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1576, like the preliminary discourse to Ramusio's third volume, carries Cabot to "the septentrional latitude of sixty-seven degrees and a half;" and so does Lord Bacon, in his Life of Henry the Seventh.

In the conflict of authorities, it is safest to follow the oldest, Peter Martyr of Anghiera, whose narrative was derived from Cabot.

[1] See the Interlude, called "The Nature of the Four Elements," written in the early part of the reign of Henry the Eighth.

Now within this twenty year,
Westward be found new lands. * * *
And that country is so large of room,
Much longer than all Christendom.
* * * *
Which the noble kynge of late memory,
The most wise prince the VII. Henry,
Caused furst for to be founde.

the placid mildness of his character, and those who CHAP. I.
approached him spread the fame of his courtesy.
Without the stern enthusiasm of Columbus, he was 1498.
distinguished by the gentleness of his nature and
by serene contentment. For nearly sixty years,
during a period when marine adventure engaged
the most intense public curiosity, he was reverenced
for his achievements, his knowledge of cosmography,
and his skill in navigation. On the death of Henry
the Seventh he was called out of England by the
command of Ferdinand, the Catholic king of Castile,
and was appointed one of the Council for the New
Indies, ever cherishing the hope to discover "that
hidden secret of nature," the direct passage to Asia.
In 1518 he was named Pilot Major of Spain, and no 1518
one could guide a ship to the Indies whom he had
not first examined and approved. He attended the
congress which in April 1524 assembled at Badajoz 1524.
to decide on the respective pretensions of Portugal
and Spain to the islands of the Moluccas. He subsequently
sailed to South America, under the auspices
of Charles V., though not with entire success. On his
return to his native land, he advanced its commerce
by opposing a mercantile monopoly, and was pensioned
and rewarded for his merits as the Great Seaman. It 1549.
was he who framed the instructions for the expedition
which discovered the passage to Archangel. He 1553.
lived to an extreme old age, and so loved his profession
to the last, that in the hour of death his wandering
thoughts were upon the ocean. The discoverer of
the territory of our country was one of the most extraordinary
men of his day: there is deep reason for
regret that time has spared so few memorials of
his career. Himself incapable of jealousy, he did

CHAP. I. not escape detraction.[1] He gave England a continent, and no one knows his burial-place.

1553 It was after long solicitations, that Columbus had obtained the opportunity of discovery. Upon the certainty of success, a throng of adventurers eagerly engaged in voyages, to explore the New World, or to plunder its inhabitants. The king of PORTUGAL, grieved at having neglected Columbus, readily favored an expe-
1500 dition for northern discovery. Gaspar Cortereal[2] was appointed commander of the enterprise. He reached
1501. the shores of North America, ranged the coast for a distance of six or seven hundred miles, and carefully observed the country and its inhabitants. The most northern point[3] which he attained, was probably about the fiftieth degree. Of the country along which he sailed, he had occasion to admire the brilliant freshness of the verdure, and the density of the stately forests The pines, well adapted for masts and yards, promised to become an object of gainful commerce. But men were already with the Portuguese an established article of traffic; the inhabitants of the American coast seemed well fitted for labor; and Cortereal freighted his ships with more than fifty Indians, whom, on his return, he
Aug 8. sold as slaves. It was soon resolved to renew the expedition; but the adventurer never returned. His death was ascribed to a combat with the natives, whom he desired to kidnap; the name of Labrador, transferred

1 Peter Martyr, d. iii. l. vi.; in Eden, fol. 125.

2 See the leading document on the voyage of Cortereal, in a letter from Pietro Pasqualigo, Venetian ambassador in Portugal, written to his brother, October 19, 1501, in Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato. L. vi. c. cxxv. The original and the French translation are both in the library of Harvard College.

3 Herrera, d. i. l. vi. c. xvi. Gomara, c. xxxvii. Also in Eden, fol. 227. Galvano, in Hakluyt, iv. 419. Purchas, i. 915, 916. Memoir of Cabot, b. ii. c. iii. and iv.

to a more northern coast, is, probably, a memorial of his crime;[1] and is, perhaps, the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America. CHAP. I. 1501

The FRENCH entered without delay into the competition for the commerce and the soil of America. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, 1504 the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy.[2] The island of Cape Breton acquired its name from their remembrance of home, and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of the country.[3] A map of the Gulf of 1506 Saint Lawrence was drawn by Denys,[4] a citizen of Honfleur; and the fishermen of the north-west of France derived wealth from the regions, which, it was reluctantly confessed, had been first visited by the Cabots.

The fisheries had for some years been successfully pursued; savages from the north-eastern coast had been 1508 brought to France;[5] plans of colonization in North 1518 America had been suggested by De Lery and Saint Just;[6] when at length Francis I., a monarch who had invited Da Vinci and Cellini to transplant the fine arts into his kingdom, employed John Verrazzani, another Florentine, to explore the new regions, which had alike excited curi- 1523 osity and hope. It was by way of the isle of Madeira, that the Italian, parting from a fleet which had cruised successfully along the shores of Spain, sailed for America,[7] with a single caravel, resolute to make discovery 1524 Jan. 17.

[1] Memoir of Cabot, 242. Navarette, Viages Menores, iii. 43, 44.

[2] Charlevoix, Hist. Gen. de la Nouv. Fr. i. 3, edition of 1744, 4to.; Champlain's Voyages, i. 9. Navarette, &c. iii. 176—180, argues against the statement in the text. Compare Memoir of Cabot, 316.

[3] Verrazzani, in Hakluyt, iii. 363.

[4] Charlevoix, i. 3 and 4. Mémoire sur les Limites de l'Acadie, 104—a good historic outline.

[5] Charlevoix, N. F. i. 4.

[6] L'Escarbot, 21. Mémoire, &c. 104.

[7] See Verrazzani's letter to Francis I., from Dieppe, July 8, 1524, in Hakluyt, iii. 357—364, or in N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 45—60. It is also in Ramusio. Compare Charlevoix, N. F. i. 5—8.

CHAP. I. 1524 of new countries. The Dolphin, though it had "the good hap of a fortunate name," was overtaken by as terrible a tempest, as mariners ever encountered; and fifty days elapsed before the continent appeared in view. At length, in the latitude of Wilmington,[1] Ver-
Mar razzani could congratulate himself on beholding land which had never been seen by any European. But no convenient harbor was found, though the search extended fifty leagues to the south. Returning towards the north, he cast anchor on the coast; all the shore was shoal, but free from rocks, and covered with fine sand; the country was flat. It was the coast of North Carolina. Mutual was the wonder of the inquisitive foreigners, and the mild and feeble natives. The russet color of the Indians seemed like the complexion of the Saracens; their dress was of skins; their ornaments, garlands of feathers. They welcomed with hospitality the strangers, whom they had not yet learned to fear. As the Dolphin ploughed its way to the north, the country seemed more inviting; it was thought that imagination could not conceive of more delightful fields and forests; the groves, redolent with fragrance, spread their perfumes far from the shore, and gave promise of the spices of the East. The mania of the times raged among the crew; in their eyes the color of the earth argued an abundance of gold. The savages were more humane than their guests. A young sailor, who had nearly been drowned, was revived by the courtesy of the natives; the voyagers robbed a mother of her child, and attempted to kidnap a young woman. Such crimes can be prompted even by the feeble passion of curiosity, and the desire to gratify a vulgar wonder.

1 S. Miller, in N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 23. In the Libreria Strozziana in Florence, there is a copious manuscript account of Verrazzani's voyage and discoveries. Tiraboschi, vii. 261, 262.

The harbor of New York especially attracted notice, for its great convenience and pleasantness; the eyes of the covetous could discern mineral wealth in the hills of New Jersey.[1] CHAP. I. 1524 April.

In the spacious haven of Newport, Verrazzani remained for fifteen days. The natives were "the goodliest people" that he had found in the whole voyage. They were liberal and friendly; yet so ignorant, that, though instruments of steel and iron were often exhibited, they did not form a conception of their use, nor learn to covet their possession.[2]

Leaving the waters of Rhode Island, the persevering mariner sailed along the whole coast of New England to Nova Scotia, till he approached the latitude of fifty degrees. The natives of the more northern region were hostile and jealous; it was impossible to conciliate their confidence; they were willing to traffic, for they had learned the use of iron; but in their exchanges they demanded knives and weapons of steel. Perhaps this coast had been visited for slaves; its inhabitants had become wise enough to dread the vices of Europeans. 1524 May 5.

In July, Verrazzani was once more in France. His own narrative of the voyage is the earliest original account, now extant, of the coast of the United States. He advanced the knowledge of the country; and he gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, on the pretext of discovery.[3]

The historians of maritime adventure agree, that Verrazzani again embarked upon an expedition, from 1525

1 Hakluyt, iii. 360, 361. N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 52, 53. Moulton's New York, i. 138, 139.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 361. Moulton's New York, i. 147, 148. Miller, in N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 25. Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 33.

3 Chalmers's Annals, 512. Harris's Voyages, ii. 348, 349.

CHAP I. which, it is usually added, he never returned. Did he sail once more under the auspices of France?[1] When
1525 Feb. 24. the monarch had just lost every thing but honor in the disastrous battle of Pavia, is it probable, that the impoverished government could have sent forth another expedition? Did he relinquish the service of France
1527 for that of England? It is hardly a safe conjecture, that he was murdered in an encounter with savages, while on a voyage of discovery, which Henry VIII. had favored.[2] Hakluyt asserts, that Verrazzani was thrice on the coast of America, and that he gave a map of it to the English monarch.[3] It is the common tradition, that he perished at sea, having been engaged in an expedition of which no tidings were ever heard. Such a report might easily be spread respecting a great navigator who had disappeared from the public view; and the rumor might be adopted by an incautious historian. It is probable, that Verrazzani had only retired from the fatigues of the life of a mariner; and, while others believed him buried in the ocean, he may have long
1537. enjoyed at Rome the friendship of men of letters, with the delights of tranquil employment.[4] Yet such is the obscurity of the accounts respecting his life, that certainty cannot be established.[5]

1527. But the misfortunes of the French monarchy did not affect the industry of its fishermen; who, amidst the miseries of France, still resorted to Newfoundland. There exists a letter[6] to Henry VIII., from the haven
Aug 3. of St. John, in Newfoundland, written by an English

1 Charlevoix, Nouv. Fr. i. 7, 8.
2 Memoir of S. Cabot, 271—276.
3 Hakl. Divers Voyages, 1582, quoted in Mem. of Cabot, p. 272.
4 See Annibale Caro, Lettere Familiari, tom. 1. let. 12.
5 Tiraboschi, vii. 263, ed. 1809. Compare, also, Ensayo Cronologico à la Historia de la Florida, Año MDXXIV.
6 Rut, in Purchas, iii. 809.

captain, in which he declares, he found in that one harbor eleven sail of Normans and one Breton, engaged in the fishery. The French king, engrossed by the passionate and unsuccessful rivalry with Charles V., could hardly respect so humble an interest. But Chabot, admiral of France,[1] a man of bravery and influence, acquainted by his office with the fishermen, on whose vessels he levied some small exactions for his private emolument, interested Francis in the design of exploring and colonizing the New World. James Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition.[2] His several voyages are of great moment; for they had a permanent effect in guiding the attention of France to the region of the St. Lawrence. It was in April, that the mariner, with two ships, left the harbor of St. Malo; and prosperous weather brought him in twenty days upon the coasts of Newfoundland. Having almost circumnavigated the island, he turned to the south, and, crossing the gulf, entered the bay, which he called Des Chaleurs, from the intense heats of midsummer. Finding no passage to the west, he sailed along the coast, as far as the smaller inlet of Gaspé. There, upon a point of land, at the entrance of the haven, a lofty cross was raised, bearing a shield, with the lilies of France and an appropriate inscription. Henceforth the soil was to be esteemed a part of the dominions of the French king. Leaving the Bay of Gaspe, Cartier discovered the great river of Canada, and sailed up its channel, till he could discern land on either side. As he was unprepared to remain during the winter, it then became necessary to return; the fleet weighed anchor

CHAP. I. 1527

1534

April 20.

May 10.

July 12.

Aug.

Aug. 9.

1 Charlevoix, Nouv. Fr. i. 8.

2 See Cartier's account in Hakluyt, iii. 250—262. Compare Charlevoix, N. F. i. 8, 9; Purchas, i. 931; Ibid, iv. 1605; Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 161—163.

CHAP. I. for Europe, and, in less than thirty days,[1] entered the harbor of St. Malo in security. His native city and
1534. Sept. 5. France were filled with the tidings of his discoveries. The voyage had been easy and successful. Even at this day, the passage to and fro is not often made more rapidly or more safely.

Could a gallant nation, which was then ready to contend for power and honor with the united force of Austria and Spain, hesitate to pursue the career of dis-
1534. covery, so prosperously opened? The court listened to the urgency of the friends of Cartier;[2] a new commission was issued; three well-furnished ships were provided by the king; and some of the young nobility of France volunteered to join the new expedition. Solemn preparations were made for departure; religion prepared a splendid pageant, previous to the embarkation; the whole company, repairing to the cathedral,
1535. May 19. received absolution and the bishop's blessing. The adventurers were eager to cross the Atlantic; and the squadron sailed[3] for the New World, full of hopes of discoveries and plans of colonization in the territory which now began to be known as New France.[4]

It was after a stormy voyage, that they arrived within sight of Newfoundland. Passing to the west of that
1535. Aug. 10. island on the day of St. Lawrence, they gave the name of that martyr to a portion of the noble gulf which opened before them; a name which has gradu-

1 Holmes's Annals, i. 65. "He returned in April." Not so. Compare Hakluyt, iii. 261, or Belknap, i. 163. The excellent annalist rarely is in error, even in minute particulars. He merits the gratitude of every student of American history. Purchas, i. 931, edition of 1617, says,—"Francis I. sent thither James Breton." This person can be no other than James Cartier, a Breton.

2 Charlevoix, N. F. i. 9.

3 See the original account of the voyage in Hakluyt, iii. 262—285 Compare Charlevoix, N. F. i. 8—15; Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 164—178. Purchas is less copious

4 Hakluyt, iii. 285

ally extended to the whole gulf, and to the river. Sailing to the north of Anticosti, they ascended the stream in September, as far as a pleasant harbor in the isle, since called Orleans. The natives, Indians of Algonquin descent, received them with unsuspecting hospitality. Leaving his ships safely moored, Cartier, in a boat, sailed up the majestic stream to the chief Indian settlement on the island of Hochelaga. The language of its inhabitants proves them to have been of the Huron family of tribes.[1] The town lay at the foot of a hill, which he climbed. As he reached the summit, he was moved to admiration by the prospect before him of woods, and waters, and mountains. Imagination presented it as the future emporium of inland commerce, and the metropolis of a prosperous province; filled with bright anticipations, he called the hill Mont-Real,[2] and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realizing his visions. Cartier also gathered of the Indians some indistinct account of the countries now contained in the north of Vermont and New York. Re joining his ships, the winter, rendered frightful by the ravages of the scurvy, was passed where they were anchored. At the approach of spring, a cross was solemnly erected upon land, and on it a shield was suspended, which bore the arms of France, and an inscription, declaring Francis to be the rightful king of these new-found regions. Having thus claimed possession of the territory, the Breton mariner once more regained St. Malo.

CHAP. I. 1535 — 1536 July 6.

The description which Cartier gave of the country bordering on the St. Lawrence, furnished arguments[3] against attempting a colony. The intense severity of

1536 to 1540

[1] Charlevoix, i. 12. Cass, in N. A. Rev. XXIV. 421.

[2] Hakluyt, iii. 272.

[3] Charlevoix, N. F. i. 20.

CHAP. I. 1540. the climate terrified even the inhabitants of the north of France; and no mines of silver and gold, no veins abounding in diamonds and precious stones, had been promised by the faithful narrative of the voyage. Three or four years, therefore, elapsed, before plans of colonization were renewed. Yet imagination did not fail to anticipate the establishment of a state upon the fertile banks of a river, which surpassed all the streams of Europe in grandeur, and flowed through a country situated between nearly the same parallels as France. Soon after a short peace had terminated the third desperate struggle between Francis I. and Charles V., attention to America was again awakened; there were not wanting men at court, who deemed it unworthy a gallant nation to abandon the enterprise; and a noble man of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval, a man of considerable provincial distinction, sought and obtained[1] a commission. It was easy to confer provinces and plant colonies upon parchment; Roberval could congratulate himself on being the acknowledged lord of the unknown Norimbega, and viceroy, with full regal authority, over the immense territories and islands which lie near the gulf or along the river St. Lawrence. But the ambitious nobleman could not dispense with the services of the former naval commander, who possessed the confidence of the king; and Cartier also received a commission. Its terms merit consideration. He was appointed captain-general and chief pilot of the expedition; he was directed to take with him persons of every trade and art; to repair to the newly-discovered territory; and to dwell there with the na-

1540. Jan. 15.

1540. Oct. 17.

[1] Charlevoix, N. F. i. 20, 21. The account in Charlevoix needs to be corrected by the documents and original accounts in L'Escarbot and Hakluyt.

tives. But where were the honest tradesmen and industrious mechanics to be found, who would repair to this New World? The commission gave Cartier full authority to ransack the prisons; to rescue the unfortunate and the criminal; and to make up the complement of his men from their number. Thieves or homicides, the spendthrift or the fraudulent bankrupt, the debtors to justice or its victims, prisoners rightfully or wrongfully detained, excepting only those arrested for treason or counterfeiting money,—these were the people by whom the colony was, in part, to be established.[1] CHAP. I. 1540.

The division of authority between Cartier and Roberval of itself defeated the enterprise.[2] Roberval was ambitious of power; and Cartier desired the exclusive honor of discovery. They neither embarked in company, nor acted in concert. Cartier sailed[3] from St. Malo the next spring after the date of his commission; he arrived at the scene of his former adventures, ascended the St. Lawrence, and, near the site of Quebec, built a fort for the security of his party;[4] but no considerable advances in geographical knowledge appear to have been made. The winter passed in sullenness and gloom. In June of the following year, he and his ships stole away and returned to France, just as Roberval arrived with a considerable reinforcement. Unsustained by Cartier, Roberval accomplished no more than a verification of previous discoveries. Remaining about 1541 May 23. 1542

1 Hazard, i. 19—21.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 286—297.

3 Holmes, in Annals, i. 70, 71, places the departure of Cartier May 23, 1540. He follows, undoubtedly, the date in Hak. iii. 286; which is, however, a misprint, or an error. For, first, the patent of Cartier was not issued till October, 1540; next, the annalist can find no occupation for Cartier in Canada for one whole year; and, further, it is undisputed, that Roberval did not sail till April, 1542; and it is expressly said in the account of Roberval's voyage, Hak. iii. 295, that "Jaques Cartier and his company" were "sent with five sayles the yeere before." Belknap makes a similar mistake, i. 178.

4 Chalmers, 82, places this event in 1545, without reason.

CHAP. I. a year in America, he abandoned his immense viceroy
alty. Estates in Picardy were better than titles in
1542. Norimbega. His subjects must have been a sad company; during the winter, one was hanged for theft; several were put in irons; and "divers persons, as well women as men," were whipped. By these means quiet was preserved. Perhaps the expedition on its return entered the Bay of Massachusetts; the French diplomatists always remembered, that Boston was built within the original limits of New France.

1549. The commission of Roberval was followed by no permanent results. It is confidently said, that, at a later date, he again embarked for his viceroyalty, accompanied by a numerous train of adventurers; and, as he was never more heard of, he may have perished at sea.

1550 to 1600. Can it be a matter of surprise, that, for the next fifty years, no further discoveries were attempted by the government of a nation, which had become involved in the final struggle of feudalism against the central power of the monarch, of Calvinism against the ancient
1562 to 1567. religion of France? The colony of Huguenots at the South sprung from private enterprise; a government
1572. Aug. 24. which could devise the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was neither worthy nor able to found new states.

At length, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV., the star of France emerged from the clouds of blood, treachery, and civil war, which had so long eclipsed her glory. The number and importance of the
1578 fishing stages had increased; in 1578 there were one hundred and fifty French vessels at Newfoundland, and regular voyages, for traffic with the natives, began to be successfully made. One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the American coast. The purpose of founding a French empire
1598. in America was renewed, and an ample commission

was issued to the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittany. Yet his enterprise entirely failed. Sweeping the prisons of France, he established their tenants on the desolate Isle of Sable; and the wretched exiles sighed for their dungeons. After some years, the few survivers received a pardon. The temporary residence in America was deemed a sufficient commutation for a long imprisonment.

The prospect of gain prompted the next enterprise. A monopoly of the fur-trade, with an ample patent, was obtained by Chauvin; and Pontgravé, a merchant of 1600
St. Malo, shared the traffic. The voyage was repeated, 1601-2
for it was lucrative. The death of Chauvin prevented his settling a colony.

A firmer hope of success was entertained, when a 1603.
company of merchants of Rouen was formed by the governor of Dieppe; and Samuel Champlain, of Brouage, an able marine officer and a man of science, was appointed to direct the expedition. By his natural disposition, "delighting marvellously in these enterprises," Champlain became the father of the French settlements in Canada. He possessed a clear and penetrating understanding, with a spirit of cautious inquiry; untiring perseverance, with great mobility; indefatigable activity, with fearless courage. The account of his first expedition gives proof of sound judgment, accurate observation, and historical fidelity. It is full of exact details on the manners of the savage tribes, not less than the geography of the country; and Quebec was already selected as the appropriate site for a fort.

Champlain returned to France just before an exclusive 1603 Nov 8.
patent had been issued to a Calvinist, the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia and its confines, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth

CHAP. I. 1603. degree of latitude, that is, from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider monopoly of the fur-trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants,—these were the privileges which the charter conceded. Idlers, and men without a profession, and all banished men, were doomed to lend him aid. A lucrative monopoly was added to the honors of territorial jurisdiction. Wealth and glory were alike expected.

1604. Mar. 7. An expedition was prepared without delay, and left the shores of France, not to return till a permanent French settlement should be made in America. All New France was now contained in two ships, which followed the well-known path to Nova Scotia. The summer glided away, while the emigrants trafficked with the natives and explored the coasts. The harbor called Annapolis after the conquest of Acadia by Queen Anne, an excellent harbor, though difficult of access, possessing a small but navigable river, which abounded in fish, and is bordered by beautiful meadows, so pleased the imagination of Poutrincourt, a leader in the enterprise, that he sued for a grant of it from De Monts, and, naming it Port Royal, determined to reside there with his family. The company of De Monts made
1604. their first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river of the same name.
1798. The remains of their fortifications were still visible, when our eastern boundary was ascertained. Yet the island was so ill suited to their purposes, that, in the
1605. following spring, they removed to Port Royal.

For an agricultural colony, a milder climate was more desirable; in view of a settlement at the south, De
1605. Monts explored and claimed for France the rivers, the coasts and the bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod. The numbers and hostility of the sav-

ages led him to delay a removal, since his colonists CHAP I.
were so few. Yet the purpose remained. Thrice, in
the spring of the following year, did Dupont, his lieu- 1606
tenant, attempt to complete the discovery. Twice he
was driven back by adverse winds; and at the third Aug. 28.
attempt, his vessel was wrecked. Poutrincourt, who
had visited France, and was now returned with sup-
plies, himself renewed the design; but, meeting with Nov. 14.
disasters among the shoals of Cape Cod, he, too, re-
turned to Port Royal. There the first French settle- 1605
ment on the American continent had been made; two years before James River was discovered, and three years before a cabin had been raised in Canada.

The possessions of Poutrincourt were confirmed by 1607
Henry IV.; the apostolic benediction of the Roman
pontiff was solicited on families which exiled them- 1608
selves to evangelize infidels; Mary of Medici herself contributed money to support the missions, which the
Marchioness de Guercheville protected; and by a com- 1610
pact with De Biencourt, the proprietary's son, the order of the Jesuits was enriched by an imposition on the fisheries and fur-trade.

The arrival of Jesuit priests was signalized by con- 1611 June 12.
versions among the natives. In the following year, De
Biencourt and Father Biart explored the coast as far 1612
as the Kennebec, and ascended that river. The Canibas, Algonquins of the Abenaki nations, touched by the confiding humanity of the French, listened reverently to the message of redemption; and, already hostile towards the English who had visited their coast, the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec became the allies of France, and were cherished as a barrier against danger from English encroachments.

A French colony within the United States followed,
under the auspices of De Guercheville and Mary of 1613

CHAP. I. Medici; the rude intrenchments of St. Sauveur were raised by De Saussaye on the eastern shore of Mount
1613. Desert Isle. The conversion of the heathen was the motive to the settlement; the natives venerated Biart as a messenger from heaven; and under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted. France and the Roman religion had appropriated the soil of Maine.

Meantime the remonstrances of French merchants had effected the revocation of the monopoly of De Monts, and a company of merchants of Dieppe and St.
1608. July 3. Malo had founded Quebec. The design was executed by Champlain, who aimed not at the profits of trade, but at the glory of founding a state. The city of Quebec was begun; that is to say, rude cottages were framed, a few fields were cleared, and one or two gar-
1609. dens planted. The next year, that singularly bold adventurer, attended but by two Europeans, joined a mixed party of Hurons from Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the north of New York. He ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name, and perpetuates his memory.

The Huguenots had been active in plans of coloniza-
1610. tion. The death of Henry IV. deprived them of their powerful protector. Yet the zeal of De Monts survived, and he quickened the courage of Champlain. After the
1611, 1612. short supremacy of Charles de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, an avowed protector of the Calvinists, became
1615. viceroy of New France; through his intercession, merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and La Rochelle, obtained a colonial patent from the king; and Champlain, now sure of success, embarked once more for the New World, accompanied by monks of the order of St. Francis. Again he invades the territory of the Iroquois in New York.

Wounded, and repulsed, and destitute of guides, he spends the first winter after his return to America in the country of the Hurons; and a knight errant among the forests carries his language, religion, and influence, even to the hamlets of Algonquins, near Lake Nipissing. CHAP. I. 1615, 1616.

Religious disputes combined with commercial jealousies to check the progress of the colony; yet in the summer, when the Pilgrims were leaving Leyden, in obedience to the wishes of the unhappy Montmorenci, the new viceroy, Champlain, began a fort. The merchants grudged the expense. "It is not best to yield to the passions of men," was his reply; "they sway but for a season; it is a duty to respect the future;" and in a few years the castle St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, was durably founded on "a commanding cliff." 1617 to 1620 July 1624.

In the same year, the viceroyalty was transferred to the religious enthusiast, Henry de Levi; and through his influence, in 1625, just a year after Jesuits had reached the sources of the Ganges and Thibet, the banks of the St. Lawrence received priests of the order, which was destined to carry the cross to Lake Superior and the West. 1624. 1625.

The presence of Jesuits and Calvinists led to dissensions. The savages caused disquiet. But the persevering founder of Quebec appealed to the Royal Council and to Richelieu; and though disasters intervened, CHAMPLAIN successfully established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the territory which became his country. "The father of New France" lies buried in the land which he colonized. Thus the humble industry of the fishermen of Normandy and Brittany promised their country the acquisition of an empire. 1627 1635

CHAPTER II.

SPANIARDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

CHAP. II.

I HAVE traced the progress of events, which, for a season, gave to France the uncertain possession of Acadia and Canada. The same nation laid claim to large and undefined regions at the southern extremity of our republic. The expedition of Francis I. discovered the continent in a latitude south of the coast which Cabot had explored; but Verrazzani had yet been anticipated. The claim to Florida, on the ground of discovery, belonged to the Spanish, and was successfully asserted.

Extraordinary success had kindled in the Spanish nation an equally extraordinary enthusiasm. No sooner had the New World revealed itself to their enterprise, than the valiant men, who had won laurels under Ferdinand among the mountains of Andalusia, sought a new career of glory in more remote adventures. The weapons that had been tried in the battles with the Moors, and the military skill that had been acquired in the romantic conquest of Granada, were now turned against the feeble occupants of America. The passions of avarice and religious zeal were strangely blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the west, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, where infinite wealth was to reward their piety. The Spanish nation had become infatuated with a fondness for novelties; the "chivalry of the ocean" despised the range of Europe,

as too narrow, and offering to their extravagant ambition nothing beyond mediocrity. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runs of water, the sands sparkled with gold. What way soever, says the historian of the ocean, the Spaniards are called, with a beck only, or a whispering voice, to any thing rising above water, they speedily prepare themselves to fly, and forsake certainties under the hope of more brilliant success. To carve out provinces with the sword; to divide the wealth of empires; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynasty; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils,—soon became the ordinary dreams, in which the excited minds of the Spaniards delighted to indulge. Ease, fortune, life, all were squandered in the pursuit of a game, where, if the issue was uncertain, success was sometimes obtained, greater than the boldest imagination had dared to anticipate. Is it strange that these adventurers were often superstitious? The New World and its wealth were in themselves so wonderful, that why should credit be withheld from the wildest fictions? Why should not the hope be indulged, that the laws of nature themselves would yield to the desires of men so fortunate and so brave?

CHAP. II.

Juan Ponce de Leon was the discoverer of Florida. 1512
His youth had been passed in military service in Spain; and, during the wars in Granada, he had shared in the wild exploits of predatory valor. No sooner had the return of the first voyage across the Atlantic given an assurance of a New World, than he hastened to participate in the dangers and the fruits of adventure in

CHAP. II. America. He was a fellow voyager of Columbus in his second expedition. In the wars of Hispaniola he had
1493. been a gallant soldier; and Ovando had rewarded him with the government of the eastern province of that island. From the hills in his jurisdiction, he could behold, across the clear waters of a placid sea, the magnificent vegetation of Porto Rico, which distance rendered still more admirable, as it was seen through the
1508 transparent atmosphere of the tropics. A visit to the island stimulated the cupidity of avarice; and Ponce
1509. aspired to the government. He obtained the station inured to sanguinary war, he was inexorably severe in his administration: he oppressed the natives; he amassed wealth. But his commission as governor of Porto Rico conflicted with the claims of the family of Columbus; and policy, as well as justice, required his removal. Ponce was displaced.

Yet, in the midst of an archipelago, and in the vicinity of a continent, what need was there for a brave soldier to pine at the loss of power over a wild though fertile island? Age had not tempered the love of enterprise: he longed to advance his fortunes by the conquest of a kingdom, and to retrieve a reputation which was not without a blemish.[1] Besides; the veteran soldier, whose cheeks had been furrowed by hard service, as well as by years, had heard, and had believed the tale, of a fountain which possessed virtues to renovate the life of those who should bathe in its stream, or give a perpetuity of youth to the happy man who should drink of its ever-flowing waters. So universal was this tradition, that it was credited in Spain, not by all the people and the court only, but by those who were dis-

[1] Peter Martyr, d. iii. l. x.

tinguished for virtue and intelligence.[1] Nature was to discover the secrets for which alchemy had toiled in vain; and the elixir of life was to flow from a perpetual fountain of the New World, in the midst of a country glittering with gems and gold. CHAP. II. 1509.

Ponce embarked at Porto Rico, with a squadron of three ships, fitted out at his own expense, for his voyage to fairy land. He touched at Guanahani; he sailed among the Bahamas; but the laws of nature remained inexorable. On Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, land was seen. It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of Florida, from the day on which it was discovered, and from the aspect of the forests, which were then brilliant with a profusion of blossoms, and gay with the fresh verdure of early spring. Bad weather would not allow the squadron to approach land: at length the aged soldier was able to go on shore, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes; some miles, therefore, to the north of St. Augustine. The territory was claimed for Spain. Ponce remained for many weeks to investigate the coast which he had discovered; though the currents of the gulf-stream, and the islands, between which the channel was yet unknown, threatened shipwreck. He doubled Cape Florida; he sailed among the group which he named Tortugas; and, despairing of entire success, he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the research. The Indians had every where displayed determined hostility. Ponce de Leon remained an old man; but Spanish commerce acquired a new channel through the Gulf of Florida, and Spain a new province, which imagination could esteem immeasurably rich, since its interior was unknown. 1512 Mar. 3. Mar. 27. April 2. April 8.

1 Peter Martyr, d. vii. l. vii., and d. ii. c. x.

CHAP. II. The government of Florida was the reward which Ponce received from the king of Spain; but the dignity
1513. was accompanied with the onerous condition, that he should colonize the country which he was appointed to
1514 to 1520. rule. Preparations in Spain, and an expedition against the Caribbee Indians, delayed his return to Florida.
1521. When, after a long interval, he proceeded with two ships to take possession of his province and select a site for a colony, his company was attacked by the Indians with implacable fury. Many Spaniards were killed; the survivors were forced to hurry to their ships; Ponce de Leon himself, mortally wounded by an arrow, returned to Cuba to die. So ended the adventurer, who had coveted immeasurable wealth, and had hoped for perpetual youth. The discoverer of Florida had desired immortality on earth, and gained its shadow.[1]

1516. Meantime, commerce may have discovered a path to Florida; and Diego Miruelo, a careless sea-captain, sailing from Havana, is said to have approached the coast, and trafficked with the natives. He could not tell distinctly in what harbor he had anchored; he brought home specimens of gold, obtained in exchange for toys; and his report swelled the rumors, already credited, of the wealth of the country. Florida had at once obtained a governor; it now constituted a part of a bishopric.[2]

1517 The expedition of Francisco Fernandez, of Cordova, leaving the port of Havana, and sailing west by south,

[1] On Ponce de Leon, I have used Herrera, d. i. l. ix. c. x. xi. and xii., and d. i. l. x. c. xvi. Peter Martyr, d. iv. l. v., and d. v. l. i., and d. vii. l. iv. In Hakluyt, v. 320, 333, and 416. Gomara, Hist. Gen. de las Ind. c. xlv. Garcilaso de la Vega, Hist. de la Florida, l. i. c. iii., and l. vi. c. xxii. Cardenas z Cano, Ensayo Cronologico para la Hist. Gen. de la F orida, d. i. p. 1, 2, and 5. Ed. 1723, folio. The author's true name is Andres Gonzalez de Barcia. Navarette, Colleccion, iii. 50—53. Compare, also, Eden and Willes, fol. 228, 229. Purchas, i. 957.

[2] Florida del Inca, Vega, l. i. c ii. Ens. Cron. d. i. Año MDXVI.

CHAP. II.

discovered the province of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy. He turned his prow to the north; but, whatever may be asserted by careless historians, he 1517 was by no means able to trace the coast to any harbor which Ponce de Leon had visited.[1] At a place where he had landed for supplies of water, his company was suddenly assailed, and he himself mortally wounded.

The pilot whom Fernandez had employed soon 1518 conducted another squadron to the same shores. The knowledge already acquired was extended, and under happier auspices; and Grijalva, the commander of the fleet, explored the coast from Yucatan towards Panuco. The masses of gold which he collected, the rumors of the empire of Montezuma, its magnificence and its extent, heedlessly confirmed by the costly presents of the unsuspecting natives, were sufficient to inflame the coldest imagination, and excited the enterprise of Cortes. The voyage did not reach the shores of Florida.[2]

But while Grijalva was opening the way to the con- 1518 quest of Mexico, the line of the American coast, from the Tortugas to Panuco, is said to have been examined, yet not with care, by an expedition which was planned, if not conducted, by Francisco Garay, the governor of Jamaica. The general outline of the Gulf of Mexico now became known.[3] Garay encountered the determined hostility of the natives; a danger which eventually proved less disastrous to him than the rivalry of

[1] The Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida is not sufficiently discriminating. The error asserted with confidence in d. i. Año MDXVII., may be corrected from Gomara, c. lii. Ant. de Solis, l. i. c. vi. Peter Martyr, d. iv. l. i. and ii. Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xvii. and xviii.

[2] Peter Martyr, d. iv. l. iii. and iv. Herrera, d. ii. l. iii. c. ix. Ant. de Solis, l. i. c. vii., viii., ix. Gomara, c. xlix.

[3] Peter Martyr d. v. l. i. Gomara, c. xlvi.

CHAP. II. his own countrymen. The adventurers in New Spain would endure no independent neighbor: the governor
1518. of Jamaica became involved in a career, which, as it ultimately tempted him to dispute the possession of a province with Cortes, led him to the loss of fortune and an inglorious death. The progress of discovery along the southern boundary of the United States was but little advanced by the expedition, of which the circumstances have been variously related.[1]

1520. A voyage for slaves brought the Spaniards still further upon the northern coast. A company of seven, of whom the most distinguished was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, fitted out two slave ships from St. Domingo, in quest of laborers for their plantations and mines. From the Bahama Islands, they passed to the coast of South Carolina, a country which was called Chicora. The Combahee[2] River received the name of the Jordan: the name of St. Helena, given to a cape, now belongs to the sound. The natives of this region had not yet had cause to fear Europeans; their natural fastnesses had not yet been invaded; and if they fled at the approach of men from the slave ships, it was rather from timid wonder than from a sense of peril. Gifts were interchanged; a liberal hospitality was offered to the strangers; confidence was established. At length the natives were invited to visit the ships; they came in cheerful throngs; the decks were covered. Immediately the ships weighed anchor; the sails were unfurled, and the prows turned towards St. Domingo. Husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents. Thus the seeds of war were lavishly

[1] Peter Martyr, d. v. l. i. Gomara, c. xlvii. Ensayo Cronologico, 3, 4. Herrera, d. ii. l. iii. c. vii. T. Southey's History of the West Indies, i. 135.

[2] Holmes's Annals, i. 47

scattered where peace only had prevailed, and enmity was spread through the regions where friendship had been cherished. The crime was unprofitable, and was finally avenged. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished; many of the captives in the other sickened and died. CHAP. II. 1520

The events that followed mark the character of the times. Vasquez, repairing to Spain, boasted of his expedition, as if it entitled him to reward, and the emperor, Charles V., acknowledged his claim. In those days, the Spanish monarch conferred a kind of appointment, which, however strange its character may appear, still has its parallel in history. Not only were provinces granted; countries were distributed to be subdued; and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon begged to be appointed to the conquest of Chicora. After long entreaty, he obtained his suit.

The issue of the new and bolder enterprise was 1524
disastrous to the undertaker. He wasted his fortune
in preparations; his largest ship was stranded in the 1525
River Jordan; many of his men were killed by the natives, whom wrongs had quickened to active resistance; he himself escaped only to suffer from wounded pride; and, conscious of having done nothing worthy of being remembered, the sense of humiliation is said to have hastened his death.[1]

The love of adventure did not wholly extinguish the 1524
desire for maritime discovery. When Cortes was able to pause from his success in Mexico, and devise further schemes for ingratiating himself with the Spanish monarch, he proposed to solve the problem of a north-

[1] Peter Martyr, d. vii. c. ii. Gomara, c. xlii. Herrera, d. iii. l. viii. c. viii. Herrera's West Indies, in Purchas, iv. 869. Galvano, in Hakluyt, iv. 429. Ensayo Cronologico, 4, 5, 6. 8, 9, and 160. Roberts's Florida, 27, 28. The Portuguese Relation. c. xiv.

CHAP. II. west passage—the secret which has so long baffled the enterprise of the most courageous and persevering
1524 navigators. He deemed the existence of the passage unquestionable, and, by simultaneous voyages along the American coast, on the Pacific, and on the Atlantic, he hoped to complete the discovery, to which Sebastian Cabot had pointed the way.[1]

The design of Cortes remained but the offer of
1525 loyalty. A voyage to the north-west was really undertaken by Stephen Gomez, an experienced naval officer, who had been with Magellan in the first memorable passage into the Pacific Ocean. The expedition was decreed by the council for the Indies, in the hope of discovering the northern route to India, which, notwithstanding it had been sought for in vain, was yet universally believed to exist. His ship entered the bays of New York and New England; on old Spanish maps, that portion of our territory is marked as the Land of Gomez. Failing to discover a passage, and fearful to return without success and without a freight, he filled his vessel with robust Indians, to be sold as slaves. Brilliant expectations had been raised; and the conclusion was esteemed despicably ludicrous. The Spaniards scorned to repeat their voyages to the cold and frozen north; in the south, and in the south only, they looked for "great and exceeding riches."[2] The adventure of Gomez had no political results. It had been furthered by the enemies of Cabot, who was, at that time, in the service of Spain; and it established the reputation of the Bristol mariner.[3]

1 Quarta Carta, o Relacion de Don Fernando Cortes. S. xix. in Barcia's Historiadores Primitivos, i. 151, 152. The same may be found in the Italian of Ramusio, iii. fol. 294, ed. 1665.

2 Peter Martyr, d. viii. l. x.

3 Peter Martyr, d. vi. l. x., and d viii. l. x. Gomara, c. xl. Herrera, d. iii. l. viii. c. viii.

CHAP. II. 1525.

But neither the fondness of the Spanish monarch for extending his domains, nor the desire of the nobility for new governments, nor the passion of adventurers to go in search of wealth, would suffer the abandonment of Florida; and in 1526, Pamphilo de Narvaez, a man of no great virtue or reputation, obtained from Charles V. the contract to explore and reduce all the territory from the Atlantic to the River of Palms. This is he who had been sent by the jealous Governor of Cuba to take Cortes prisoner, and had himself been easily defeated, losing an eye, and deserted by his own troops. "Esteem it great good fortune, that you have taken me captive," said he to the man whom he had declared an outlaw; and Cortes replied, "It is the least of the things I have done in Mexico." 1526.

Narvaez, who was both rich and covetous, hazarded all his treasure on the conquest of his province; and sons of Spanish nobles and men of good condition flocked to his standard. In June, 1527, his expedition, in which Cabeza de Vaca held the second place as treasurer, left the Guadalquiver, touched at the island of San Domingo, and during the following winter, amidst storms and losses, passed from port to port on the southern side of Cuba, where the experienced Miruelo was engaged as his pilot. In the spring of 1528, he doubled Cape San Antonio, and was standing in for Havana, when a strong South wind drove his fleet upon the American coast, and on the fourteenth of April, the day before Good Friday, he anchored in or near the outlet of Tampa Bay. B Diaz C. VI. 1527. 1528. April. Cabeza de Vaca. published by Geo. W Riggs. Jr.

On the day before Easter the Governor landed, and in the name of Spain took possession of the floating peninsula of Florida. The natives kept aloof, or if they drew near, marked by signs their impatience for his departure. But they had shown him samples

CHAP. II. 1528. May. of gold, which, if their gestures were rightly interpreted, came from the North. Disregarding, therefore, the most earnest advice of Cabeza de Vaca, he directed the ships to meet him at a harbor with which the pilot pretended acquaintance, and on the first of May, mustering three hundred men, of whom forty were mounted, he struck into the interior of the country. Then for the first time the low sandy soil, impregnated with lime, just lifted above the ocean, without hills, yet gushing with transparent fountains and watered by unfailing rivers, was traversed by white men, who were ignorant of where they were, or whither they were going, allured onwards by the prospect of gold.

The wanderers, as they passed along, gazed on trees astonishingly high, some riven from the top by lightning; the pine; the cypress; the sweet gum; the slender, gracefully tall palmetto; the humbler herbaceous palm, with its green chaplet of crenated leaves; the majestic magnolia, glittering in the light; live oaks of such growth, that now that they are vanishing under the axe, men hardly believe the tales of their greatness; multitudes of birds of untold varieties; and quadrupeds of many kinds, among them the opossum, then noted as having a pocket in its belly to house its young; the bear; more than one kind of deer; the panther, which was mistaken for the lion; but they found no rich town, nor a high hill, nor gold. When on rafts and by swimming, they had painfully crossed the strong current of the June. Withlacooche, they were so worn away by famine, as to give infinite thanks to God for lighting upon a field of unripe maize. Just after the middle of June, they encountered the Sawanee, whose wide, deep and rapid stream delayed them till they could build a large canoe. Wading through swamps, made still

more terrible by immense trunks of fallen trees, that were decaying in the water, and gave a refuge to the natives who, though not numerous, were all archers, they came on the day after St. John's in sight of the forty wretched cabins which formed the hamlet of Apalache, where they had pictured to themselves a populous town and food and treasure. CHAP. II. 1528. June.

There they remained for five and twenty days, searching the country in many directions for silver and gold, till perishing with hunger, and weakened by the attacks of the fierce natives, they abandoned the hope of fortune, and sought only an escape from a region so remote and malign. Dangers increased as they proceeded through deep lagoons and the ruinous forest, till their falling upon a very great river, which they called the Magdalen, aided them to find the sea near the mouth of the Appalachicola. There, sustaining life by eating their horses and by maize plundered of the Indians, they beat their stirrups, spurs, crossbows and other things of iron into saws, axes and nails; and in sixteen days finished five boats, each of more than twenty cubits in length. Into these, on the twenty-second of September, about two hundred and fifty men, all of the party whom famine, autumnal fevers, fatigue and the arrows of the native bowmen had spared, embarked for the river Palmas. The crowded vessels, whose gunwales barely rose above water, lived in a turbulent sea for more than thirty days, during which the destitute and lost men rowed along the coast of West Florida. But the winds of November wrecked them all. One boat went down nearly off Pensacola. Another, which bore the Franciscan friars, upset towards the west of Pensacola Bay; those who escaped were put on shore by Narvaez with almost all his own boat's company just beyond the Bay of Perdido. A North wind,

July. Aug. Buckingham Smith, 127, 128. Sept. Oct. Nov. B. Smith, 131.

CHAP. II. 1528. rising suddenly in the night, drove Narvaez to sea, and he was never again heard of; the wretched men whom he left on land, continued their way as far perhaps as Dauphin Island, in the Bay of Mobile, where they sunk into cannibalism, and at last all but one perished fearfully from hunger.

B. Smith. Notes to de Vaca, 133. The boat of Cabeza de Vaca was wrecked by the surf on the island of San Rosas, or as he called it, the isle of Misfortune; where he was joined by Andres Dorantes and Alonzo del Castillo, who with all the men of their boat had met the same fate. One by one the miserable wanderers died of cold and want, save only Cabeza de Vaca, Dorantes, and Castillo, and a blackamoor, whom they named Estevanico.

1529. The brave Cabeza de Vaca, as calm and self-possessed a hero as ever graced a fiction, fruitful in resources and never wasting time in complaints of fate or fortune, studied the habits and the languages of the Indians; accustomed himself to their modes of life; peddled little articles of commerce from tribe to tribe; and won fame in the wilderness as a medicine man of wonderful gifts. After nearly six years' apprenticeship, the great forerunner among travellers by land
1534. Sept. inspired the three others with something of his own marvellous courage, and, naked and ignorant of the way, without so much as a single implement of iron, they ventured to escape to the North. From the upper valley of the Tombigbee they struck "the banks of the very beautiful" Tennessee where it bends farthest towards the gulf; they next made their way westward through rich vales to "the mighty river" that comes down from the North.

Reverently attended by a numerous company of Indians, warriors and women, they, first of men from the Old World, crossed the Mississippi from some point in Tennessee. Borne up by cheerful courage

against hunger, cold, and fatigue, perils from wild CHAP. II.
beasts and perils from the red men, they passed
through Arkansas and up the Canadian river; and 1534
though their pilgrimage on foot required more than to 1536.
two years for its completion, they went Westward and still to the West, the pioneer voyagers across the wilderness, till in May, 1536, they drew near the Pacific Ocean at the village of San Miguel, in Sonora. From that place they were safely escorted by soldiers to Compostella; and all along the remaining way to the city of Mexico, they were every where entertained by the Christians as public guests.

When Cabeza de Vaca reached Spain, he addressed to the Imperial Catholic King a narrative of his adventures, conscious of its great value to the men who should go under the royal banners to conquer those lands; and the tales of "the Columbus of the Continent," who had trodden the soil of Alabama and Tennessee, and traced the course of the Arkansas, strengthened the belief, that the vast territory between the river Palmas and the Atlantic, then embraced under the name of Florida, was the richest country in the world.

The assertion was received even by those who 1537.
had seen Mexico and Peru. To no one was this faith more disastrous than to Ferdinand de Soto, of Xeres. He had been the favorite companion of Pizarro, and at the storming of Cusco had surpassed his companions in arms. He assisted in arresting the unhappy Atahualpa; and shared in the immense ransom with which the credulous inca purchased the promise of freedom. Perceiviug the angry divisions which were threatened by the jealousy of the conquerors of Peru, Soto had seasonably withdrawn, to display his opulence in Spain, and to solicit ad-

CHAP. II. vancement. His reception was triumphant; success of all kinds awaited him. The daughter of the distin-
1537 guished nobleman, under whom he had first served as a poor adventurer, became his wife;[1] and the special favor of Charles V. invited his ambition to prefer a large request. It had ever been believed, that the depths of the continent at the north concealed cities as magnificent, and temples as richly endowed, as any which had yet been plundered within the limits of the tropics. Soto desired to rival Cortes in glory, and surpass Pizarro in wealth. Blinded by avarice and the love of power, he repaired to Valladolid, and demanded permission to conquer Florida at his own cost; and Charles V. readily conceded to so renowned a commander the government of the Isle of Cuba, with absolute power over the immense territory, to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied.[2]

No sooner was the design of the new expedition published in Spain, than the wildest hopes were indulged. How brilliant must be the prospect, since even the conqueror of Peru was willing to hazard his fortune and the greatness of his name! Adventurers assembled as volunteers; many of them, people of noble birth and good estates. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive-trees in the Ajarrafe of Seville, were sold, as in the times of the crusades, to
1538. obtain the means of military equipments. The port of San Lucar of Barrameda was crowded with those who hastened to solicit permission to share in the enterprise. Even soldiers of Portugal desired to be enrolled for the service. A muster was held; the Portuguese appeared

1 Portuguese Relation, c. i.; in Hakluyt, v. 483.

2 Portuguese Relation, c. i. 483; Vega, l. i. c. i.; Herrera, d. IV. l. I c. iii.



FERDINAND DE SOTO.

Designed and etched for Bancroft's History of the U. States.

in the glittering array of burnished armor; and the CHAP. II.
Castilians, brilliant with hopes, were "very gallant with
silk upon silk." Soto gave directions as to the arma- 1538.
ment; from the numerous aspirants, he selected for his companions six hundred men in the bloom of life, the flower of the peninsula; many persons of good account, who had sold estates for their equipments, were obliged to remain behind.[1]

The fleet sailed as gayly as if it had been but a holiday excursion of a bridal party. In Cuba, the precaution was used to send vessels to Florida to explore a harbor; and two Indians, brought as captives to Havana, invented such falsehoods as they perceived would be acceptable. They conversed by signs; and the signs were interpreted as affirming that Florida abounded in gold. The news spread great contentment; Soto and his troops were restless with longing for the hour of their departure to the conquest of "the richest country which had yet been discovered."[2] The infection spread in Cuba; and Vasco Porcallo, an aged and a wealthy man, lavished his fortune in magnificent equipments.[3]

Soto had been welcomed in Cuba by long and bril- 1539 May.
liant festivals and rejoicings. At length, all preparations were completed; leaving his wife to govern the island, he and his company, full of unbounded expectations, embarked for Florida; and, in about a fortnight, his fleet anchored in the Bay of Spiritu Santo.[4] The soldiers went on shore; the horses, between two and

[1] Port. Rel. c. ii. and iii.; Vega, l. i. c. v. and vi. When the authorities vary, I follow that which is least highly colored, and give the smaller number. Vega says there were a thousand men, and he strenuously vindicates his own integrity and love of truth. He wrote from the accounts of eye-witnesses, whom he examined; he was not himself an eye-witness.

[2] Portuguese Relation, c. i.

[3] Vega, l. i. c. xii.

[4] Portuguese Relation, c. vii.; Vega, l. i. part i. c. i. 23

CHAP. II. 1539 three hundred in number, were disembarked; and the men of the expedition stood upon the soil which they had sc eagerly desired to tread. Soto would listen to no augury but that of success; and, like Cortes, he refused to retain his ships, lest they should afford a temptation to retreat. Most of them were sent to Havana.[1] The aged Porcallo, a leading man in the enterprise, soon grew alarmed, and began to remember his establishments in Cuba. It had been a principal object with him to obtain slaves for his estates and mines; despairing of success, and terrified with the marshes and thick forests, he also sailed for the island, where he could enjoy his wealth in security. Soto was indignant at the desertion, but concealed his anger.[2]

And now began the nomadic march of the adven turers; a numerous body of horsemen, besides infantry, completely armed; a force exceeding in numbers and equipments the famous expeditions against the empires of Mexico and Peru. Every thing was provided that experience in former invasions and the cruelty of avarice could suggest; chains[3] for captives, and the instruments of a forge; arms of all kinds then in use, and bloodhounds as auxiliaries against the feeble natives;[4] ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs, which would soon swarm in the favoring climate, where the forests and the Indian maize furnished abundant sustenance. It was a roving expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune. It was a romantic stroll of men whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths; wherever rumor might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-

1 Portuguese Relation, c. x.

2 Portuguese Relation, c. x.; Vega, l. ii. part i. c. xi. and xii.

3 Port. Rel. c. xi. and xii.

4 Port. Rel. c. xi. and elsewhere

interpreted signs of the ignorant natives might seem to promise a harvest of gold. The passion for cards now first raged among the groves of the south; and often at the resting-places groups of listless adventurers clustered together to enjoy the excitement of desperate gaming. Religious zeal was also united with avarice: there were not only cavalry and foot-soldiers, with all that belongs to warlike array; twelve priests, besides other ecclesiastics, accompanied the expedition. Florida was to become Catholic during scenes of robbery and carnage. Ornaments, such as are used at the service of mass,[1] were carefully provided; every festival was to be kept; every religious practice to be observed. As the troop marched through the wilderness, the solemn processions, which the usages of the church enjoined, were scrupulously instituted.[2]

CHAP. II. 1539.

The wanderings of the first season brought the company from the Bay of Spiritu Santo to the country of the Appalachians, east of the Flint River, and not far from the head of the Bay of Appalachee.[3] The names of the intermediate places cannot be identified. The march was tedious and full of dangers. The Indians were always hostile; the two captives of the former expedition escaped; a Spaniard, who had been kept in slavery from the time of Narvaez, could give no accounts of any country where there was silver or gold.[4] The guides would purposely lead the Castilians astray, and involve them in morasses; even though death, under the fangs of the bloodhounds, was the certain punishment. The whole company grew dispirited, and

1539 June to Oct. 27.

[1] Portuguese Relation, c. xix.

[2] Portuguese Relation, c. xx., and in various places, speaks of the friars and priests. Vega, l. i. c. vi. 9; l. iv. c. vi. and elsewhere. Herrera confirms the statement.

[3] Portuguese Relation, c. xii.; Vega, l. ii. part ii. c. iv.; McCulloh's Researches, 524.

[4] Port. Relation, c. ix.

CHAP. II. 1539. desired the governor to return, since the country opened no brilliant prospects. "I will not turn back," said Soto, "till I have seen the poverty of the country with my own eyes."[1] The hostile Indians, who were taken prisoners, were in part put to death, in part enslaved. These were led in chains, with iron collars about their necks; their service was, to grind the maize and to carry the baggage. An exploring party discovered Ochus,[2] the harbor of Pensacola; and a message was sent to Cuba, desiring that in the ensuing year supplies for the expedition might be sent to that place.[3]

1540. Mar. 3. Early in the spring of the following year, the wanderers renewed their march, with an Indian guide, who promised to lead the way to a country, governed, it was said, by a woman, and where gold so abounded, that the art of melting and refining it was understood. He described the process so well, that the credulous Spaniards took heart, and exclaimed, "He must have seen it, or the devil has been his teacher!" The Indian appears to have pointed towards the Gold Region of North Carolina.[4] The adventurers, therefore, eagerly hastened to the north-east; they passed the Alatamaha; they admired the fertile valleys of Georgia, rich, productive, and full of good rivers. They passed a northern tributary of the Alatamaha, and a southern branch of the Ogechee; and, at length, came upon the April. Ogechee itself, which, in April, flowed with a full channel and a strong current. Much of the time, the Spaniards were in wild solitudes, they suffered for want of salt and of meat. Their Indian guide affected madness; but "they said a gospel over him, and the

1 Portuguese Relation, c. xi.
2 Ibid, c. xii.
3 Portuguese Relation, c. vii.—xii. Vega, l. ii. part i. and ii.
4 Silliman's Journal, xxiii. 8, 9.

fit left him." Again he involved them in pathless wilds; and then he would have been torn in pieces by the dogs, if he had not still been needed to assist the interpreter. Of four Indian captives, who were questioned, one bluntly answered, he knew no country such as they described; the governor ordered him to be burnt, for what was esteemed his falsehood. The sight of the execution quickened the invention of his companions; and the Spaniards made their way to the small Indian settlement of Cutifa-Chiqui. A dagger and a rosary were found here; the story of the Indians traced them to the expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon; and a two days' journey would reach, it was believed, the harbor of St. Helena. The soldiers thought of home, and desired either to make a settlement on the fruitful soil around them, or to return. The governor was "a stern man, and of few words." Willingly hearing the opinions of others, he was inflexible, when he had once declared his own mind; and all his followers, "condescending to his will," continued to indulge delusive hopes.[1]

CHAP. II. 1540

The direction of the march was now to the north; to the comparatively sterile country of the Cherokees,[2] and in part through a district in which gold is now found. The inhabitants were poor, but gentle; they liberally offered such presents as their habits of life permitted—deer skins and wild hens. Soto could hardly have crossed the mountains, so as to enter the basin of the Tennessee River;[3] it seems, rather, that he passed from the head-waters of the Savannah, or the Chattahouchee, to the head-waters of the Coosa. The name

May 3.

1 Portuguese Relation, c. xiii. and xiv.; Vega, l. iii. c. ii.—xvii. Compare Belknap, i. 188. I cannot follow McCulloh, 524.

2 Nuttall's Arkansas, 124; McCulloh's Researches, 524.

3 Martin's Louisiana, i. 11.

CHAP. II. 1540. of Canasauga, a village at which he halted, is still given to a branch of the latter stream. For several months, the Spaniards were in the valleys which send their waters to the Bay of Mobile. Chiaha was an island distant about a hundred miles from Canasauga. An exploring party which was sent to the north, were appalled by the aspect of the Appalachian chain, and pronounced the mountains impassable. They had looked for mines of copper and gold; and their only plunder was a buffalo robe.

July 26. In the latter part of July, the Spaniards were at Coosa. In the course of the season, they had occasion to praise the wild grape of the country, the same, perhaps, which has since been thought worthy of culture, and to admire the luxuriant growth of maize, which was springing from the fertile plains of Alabama. A southerly direction led the train to Tuscaloosa; nor was it long before the wanderers reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombecbee, and about one hundred miles, or six days' journey, from Pensacola. The village was called Mavilla, or Mobile, a name which is still preserved, and applied, not to the bay only, but to the river, after the union of its numerous tributaries. The Spaniards, tired of lodging in the fields, desired to occupy the cabins; the Indians rose to resist the invaders, whom they distrusted and feared. A battle ensued; the terrors of their cavalry gave the victory to the Spaniards. I know not if a more bloody Indian fight ever occurred on the soil of the United States: the town was set on fire; and a witness of the scene, doubtless greatly exaggerating the loss, relates that two thousand five hundred Indians were slain, suffocated, or burned. They had

Oct. 18.

fought with desperate courage; and, but for the flames, which consumed their light and dense settlements, they would have effectually repulsed the invaders. "Of the Christians, eighteen died;" one hundred and fifty were wounded with arrows; twelve horses were slain, and seventy hurt. The flames had not spared the baggage of the Spaniards; it was within the town, and was entirely consumed.[1] CHAP II. 1540

Meanwhile, ships from Cuba had arrived at Ochus, now Pensacola. Soto was too proud to confess his failure. He had made no important discoveries; he had gathered no stores of silver and gold, which he might send to tempt new adventurers; the fires of Mobile had consumed the curious collections which he had made. It marks the resolute cupidity and stubborn pride with which the expedition was conducted, that he determined to send no news of himself, until, like Cortes, he had found some rich country.[2]

But the region above the mouth of the Mobile was populous and hostile, and yet too poor to promise plunder. Soto retreated towards the north; his troops already reduced, by sickness and warfare, to five hundred men. A month passed away, before he reached winter-quarters at Chicaça, a small town in the country of the Chickasas, in the upper part of the state of Mississippi; probably on the western bank of the Yazoo. The weather was severe, and snow fell; but maize was yet standing in the open fields. The Spaniards were able to gather a supply of food, and the deserted town, with such rude cabins as they added, afforded them shelter through the winter. Yet no Nov. 18. Dec. 17. 1541

1 Port. Rel. c. xvii.—xix. 508—512. Vega is very extravagant in his account of the battle. L. iii. c. xxvii.—xxxi. On localities, compare Belknap, i. 189, 190; McCulloh, 525; and T. Irving's Florida, ii. 37.

2 Portuguese Relation, c. xix

CHAP. II. 1541. mines of Peru were discovered; no ornaments of gold adorned the rude savages; their wealth was the harvest of corn, and wigwams were their only palaces: they were poor and independent; they were hardy and Mar. loved freedom. When spring[1] opened, Soto, as he had usually done with other tribes, demanded of the chieftain of the Chickasaws two hundred men to carry the burdens of his company. The Indians hesitated. Human nature is the same in every age and in every climate. Like the inhabitants of Athens in the days of Themistocles, or those of Moscow of a recent day, the Chickasaws, unwilling to see strangers and enemies occupy their homes, in the dead of night, deceiving the sentinels, set fire to their own village, in which the Castilians were encamped.[2] On a sudden, half the houses were in flames; and the loudest notes of the war-whoop rung through the air. The Indians, could they have acted with calm bravery, might have gained an easy and entire victory; but they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal battle against weapons of steel. Many of the horses had broken loose; these, terrified and without riders, roamed through the forest, of which the burning village illuminated the shades, and seemed to the ignorant natives the gathering of hostile squadrons. Others of the horses perished in the stables; most of the swine were consumed; eleven of the Christians were burned, or lost their lives in the tumult. The clothes which had been saved from the fires of Mobile, were destroyed, and the Spaniards, now as naked as the natives, suffered from the cold. Weapons and equipments were consumed or spoiled. Had the Indians made a

1 Vega says January. L. iii. c. xxxvi

2 Vega, l. iii. c. xxxvi., xxxvii. and xxxviii. Port. Account, c. xx. xxi.

resolute onset on this night or the next, the Spaniards would have been unable to resist. But in a respite of a week, forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances were made, equal to the best of Biscay. When the Indians attacked the camp, they found "the Christians" prepared. CHAP. II. 1541. Mar. 15.

All the disasters which had been encountered, far from diminishing the boldness of the governor, served only to confirm his obstinacy by wounding his pride. Should he, who had promised greater booty than Mexico or Peru had yielded, now return as a defeated fugitive, so naked that his troops were clad only in skins and mats of ivy? The search for some wealthy region was renewed; the caravan marched still further to the west. For seven days, it struggled through a wilderness of forests and marshes; and, at length, came to Indian settlements in the vicinity of the Mississippi. The lapse of nearly three centuries has not changed the character of the stream; it was then described as more than a mile broad; flowing with a strong current, and, by the weight of its waters, forcing a channel of great depth. The water was always muddy; trees and timber were continually floating down the stream.[1] April 25.

The Spaniards were guided to the Mississippi by natives; and were directed to one of the usual crossing places, probably at the lowest Chickasa Bluff,[2] not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude.[3] The arrival of the strangers awakened curiosity and fear. A multitude of people from the western banks of

[1] Portuguese Account, c. xxii. Vega, l. iv. c. iii. I never rely on Vega alone.

[2] Portuguese Account, c. xxxii. and xxxiii. taken in connection with the more diffuse account of Vega, l. iv. c. v.

[3] Belknap, i. 192: "Within the thirty-fourth degree." Andrew Ellicott's Journal, 125: "Thirty-four de-

CHAP. II. 1541. the river, painted and gayly decorated with great plumes of white feathers, the warriors standing in rows with bow and arrows in their hands, the chieftains sitting under awnings as magnificent as the artless manufactures of the natives could weave, came rowing down the stream in a fleet of two hundred canoes, seeming to the admiring Spaniards "like a fair army of galleys." They brought gifts of fish, and loaves made of the fruit of the persimmon. At first they showed some desire to offer resistance; but, soon becoming conscious of their relative weakness, they ceased to defy an enemy who could not be overcome, and suffered injury without attempting open retaliation. The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses; almost a month expired before barges, large enough to hold three horsemen each, were constructed for crossing the May. river. At length, the Spaniards embarked upon the Mississippi; and were borne to its western bank.

The Dahcota tribes, doubtless, then occupied the June. country south-west of the Missouri;[1] Soto had heard its praises; he believed in its vicinity to mineral wealth; and he determined to visit its towns. In ascending the Mississippi, the party was often obliged to wade through morasses; at length they came, as it would seem, upon the district of Little Prairie, and the dry and elevated lands which extend towards New Madrid. Here the religions of the invaders and

grees and ten minutes." Martin's Louisiana, i. 12: "A little below the lowest Chickasaw Bluff." Nuttall's Travels in Arkansas, 248: "The lowest Chickasaw Bluff." McCulloh's Researches, 526: "Twenty or thirty miles below the mouth of the Arkansas River."

[1] Charlevoix, Journal Historique let. xxviii. Nuttall's Arkansas, 82, 250, and 251. McCulloh disagrees, 526—528.

the natives came in contrast. The Spaniards were adored as children of the sun, and the blind were brought into their presence, to be healed by the sons of light. "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need," said Soto in reply; and the sublime doctrine, which, thousands of years before, had been proclaimed in the deserts of Arabia, now first found its way into the prairies of the Far West The wild fruits of that region were abundant; the pecan nut, the mulberry, and the two kinds of wild plums, furnished the natives with articles of food At Pacaha, the northernmost point which Soto reached near the Mississippi, he remained forty days. The spot cannot be identified; but the accounts of the amusements of the Spaniards confirm the truth of the narrative of their ramblings. Fish were taken, such as are now found in the fresh waters of that region; one of them, the spade fish,[1] the strangest and most whimsical production of the muddy streams of the west, so rare, that, even now, it is hardly to be found in any museum, is accurately described by the best historian of the expedition.[2]

CHAP II. 1541

June 19, to July 29.

An exploring party, which was sent to examine the regions to the north, reported that they were almost a desert. The country still nearer the Missouri was said by the Indians to be thinly inhabited; the bison abounded there so much, that no maize could be cultivated; and the few inhabitants were hunters. Soto turned, therefore, to the west and north-west, and plunged still more deeply into the interior of the continent. The highlands of White River, more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi, were probably the limit of

Aug

1 Platirostra Edentula.

2 Portuguese Relation, c. xxiv. "There was another fish, called a peele fish; it had a snout of a cubit long and at the end of the upper lip, it was made like a peele. It had no scales." Compare Flint's Geography, i. 85. Journal of Phil. Acad. of Nat. Science, i. 227—229. Nuttall's Arkansas, 254.

CHAP. II. 1541. his ramble in this direction. The mountains offered neither gems nor gold; and the disappointed adventurers marched to the south.[1] They passed through a succession of towns, of which the position cannot be fixed; till, at length, we find them among the Tunicas,[2] near the hot springs and saline tributaries of the Washita.[3] It was at Autiamque, a town on the same river,[4] that they passed the winter; they had arrived at the settlement through the country of the Kappaws.

The native tribes, every where on the route, were found in a state of civilization beyond that of nomadic hordes. They were an agricultural people, with fixed places of abode, and subsisted upon the produce of the fields, more than upon the chase. Ignorant of the arts of life, they could offer no resistance to their unwelcome visitors; the bow and arrow were the most effective weapons with which they were acquainted. They seem not to have been turbulent or quarrelsome; but as the population was moderate, and the earth fruitful, the tribes were not accustomed to contend with each other for the possession of territories. Their dress was, in part, mats wrought of ivy and bulrushes, of the bark and lint of trees; in cold weather, they wore mantles woven of feathers. The settlements were by tribes; each tribe occupied what the Spaniards called a province; their villages were generally near together, but were composed of few habitations. The Spaniards treated them with no other forbearance than their own selfishness demanded, and enslaved such as offended, employing them as porters and guides. On a slight suspicion, they would cut off the hands of

1 Portuguese Rel. c. xxv.—xxvii.
2 Charlevoix, Jour. Hist. l. xxxi.
3 Portuguese Narrative, c. xxvi. Nuttall's Arkansas, 215, 216, 257.
4 The river of Autiamque, Cayas, the saline regions, and afterwards of Nilco, was the same Portuguese Relation, c. xxviii.

numbers of the natives, for punishment or intimidation;[1] while the young cavaliers, from desire of seeming valiant, ceased to be merciful, and exulted in cruelties and carnage. The guide who was unsuccessful, or who purposely led them away from the settlements of his tribe, would be seized and thrown to the hounds. Sometimes a native was condemned to the flames. Any trifling consideration of safety would induce the governor to set fire to a hamlet. He did not delight in cruelty; but the happiness, the life, and the rights of the Indians, were held of no account. The approach of the Spaniards was heard with dismay; and their departure hastened by the suggestion of wealthier lands at a distance.

CHAP. II. 1541

In the spring of the following year, Soto determined to descend the Washita to its junction, and to get tidings of the sea. As he advanced, he was soon lost amidst the bayous and marshes which are found along the Red River and its tributaries. Near the Mississippi, he came upon the country of Nilco, which was well peopled. The river was there larger than the Guadalquivir at Seville. At last, he arrived at the province where the Washita, already united with the Red River, enters the Mississippi.[2] The province was called Guachoya. Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were there settlements extending along the river to its mouth? It was answered that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent one of his men, with eight

1542 Mar. 6.

April 17.

1 Calveto, from Benzo, Hist. N. Orbis N. l. ii. c. xiii. in De Bry, v. 47.

2 McCulloh places Guachoya near the Arkansas. He does not make sufficient allowance for an exaggeration of distances, and for delays on the Mississippi during the night-time; 529—531. Nuttall, Martin, and others, agree with the statement in the text.

CHAP. II. 1542. horsemen, to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country. They travelled eight days, and were able to advance not much more than thirty miles, they were so delayed by the frequent bayous, the impassable cane-brakes, and the dense woods.[1] The governor received the intelligence with concern; he suffered from anxiety and gloom. His horses and men were dying around him, so that the natives were becoming dangerous enemies. He attempted to overawe a tribe of Indians near Natchez by claiming a supernatural birth, and demanding obedience and tribute. "You say you are the child of the sun," replied the undaunted chief; "dry up the river, and I will believe you Do you desire to see me? Visit the town where I dwell. If you come in peace, I will receive you with special good-will; if in war, I will not shrink one foot back." But Soto was no longer able to abate the confidence, or punish the temerity of the natives. His stubborn pride was changed by long disappointments into a wasting melancholy; and his health sunk rapidly and entirely under a conflict of emotions. A malignant fever ensued, during which he had little comfort, and was neither visited nor attended as the last hours of life demand. Believing his death near at hand, he held the last solemn interview with his faithful followers; and, yielding to the wishes of his companions, who obeyed him
May 21. to the end, he named a successor. On the next day he died. Thus perished Ferdinand de Soto, the governor of Cuba, the successful associate of Pizarro. His miserable end was the more observed, from the greatness of his former prosperity. His soldiers pronounced his eulogy by grieving for their loss; the priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the

1 Portuguese Account, c. xxix.

waters of the Mississippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. The wanderer had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place.[1] CHAP. II. 1542.

No longer guided by the energy and pride of Soto, the company resolved on reaching New Spain without delay. Should they embark in such miserable boats as they could construct, and descend the river? Or should they seek a path to Mexico through the forests? They were unanimous in the opinion, that it was less dangerous to go by land; the hope was still cherished, that some wealthy state, some opulent city, might yet be discovered, and all fatigues be forgotten in the midst of victory and spoils. Again they penetrated the western wilderness; in July, they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches;[2] but the Red River was so swollen, that it was impossible for them to pass. They soon became bewildered. As they proceeded, the Indian guides purposely led them astray; "they went up and down through very great woods," without making any progress. The wilderness, into which they had at last wandered, was sterile and scarcely inhabited; they had now reached the great buffalo prairies of the west, the hunting-grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches, the migratory tribes on the confines of Mexico. The Spaniards believed themselves to be at least one hundred and fifty leagues west of the Mississippi. Desperate as the June. July

1 Portuguese Relation, c. xxx. Vega, l. v. p. i. c. vii. viii. Vega embellishes. Herrera d. vii. l. vii. c. iii.

2 Vega introduces the Natchitoches too soon. L. v. p. i. c. i. See Portuguese Account, c. xxxii. and xxxiii. Compare Nuttall, 264.

CHAP. II. resolution seemed, it was determined to return once more to its banks, and follow its current to the sea.
1542. There were not wanting men, whose hopes and whose courage were not yet exhausted, who wished rather to die in the wilderness, than to leave it in poverty; but Moscoso, the new governor, had long "desired to see himself in a place where he might sleep his full sleep."[1]

Dec. They came upon the Mississippi at Minoya, a few leagues above the mouth of Red River, often wading through deep waters, and grateful to God if, at night, they could find a dry resting-place. The Indians, whom they had enslaved, died in great numbers; in Minoya, many Christians died; and most of them were attacked by a dangerous epidemic.

1543. Jan. to July. Nor was the labor yet at an end; it was no easy task for men in their condition to build brigantines. Erecting a forge, they struck off the fetters from the slaves; and, gathering every scrap of iron in the camp, they wrought it into nails. Timber was sawed by hand with a large saw, which they had always carried with them. They calked their vessels with a weed like hemp; barrels, capable of holding water, were with difficulty made; to obtain supplies of provision, all the hogs and even the horses were killed, and their flesh preserved by drying; and the neighboring townships of Indians were so plundered of their food, that the miserable inhabitants would come about the Spaniards begging for a few kernels of their own maize, and often died from weakness and want of food. The rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of the seven brigantines; they were frail barks, which had no decks; and as, from the want of iron, the nails were of necessity short, they were constructed of very

1 Portuguese Relation, c. xxxiv.

thin planks, so that the least shock would have broken them in pieces. Thus provided, in seventeen days the fugitives reached the Gulf of Mexico; the distance seemed to them two hundred and fifty leagues, and was not much less than five hundred miles. They were the first to observe, that for some distance from the mouth of the Mississippi the sea is not salt, so great is the volume of fresh water which the river discharges. Following, for the most part, the coast, it was more than fifty days before the men, who finally escaped, now no more than three hundred and eleven in number, entered the River Panuco.[1]

CHAP. II. 1543. July 2—18. Sept. 10.

Such is the history of the first voyage of Europeans on the Mississippi; the honor of the discovery belongs, without a doubt, to the Spaniards. There were not wanting adventurers, who desired to make one more attempt to possess the country by force of arms; their request was refused.[2] Religious zeal was more per- 1544

1 On Soto's expedition, by far the best account is that of the Portuguese Eye-witness, first published in 1557, and by Hakluyt, in English, in 1609. There is an imperfect abridgment of it in Purchas, iv. 1528—1556; and a still more imperfect one in Roberts's Florida, 33—79. This narrative is remarkably good, and contains internal evidence of its credibility. Nuttall erroneously attributes it to Vega. In the work of Vega, numbers and distances are magnified; and every thing embellished with great boldness. His history is not without its value, but must be consulted with extreme caution. Herrera, d. vi. l. vii. c. ix.—xii., and d. vii. l. vii. c. i. —xi. is not an original authority. The Ensayo Cronologico contains nothing of moment on the subject. L'Escarbot, N. Fr. i. 36, De Laet, l. iv. c. iv.—ix., and Charlevoix, N. Fr. i. 24, and iii. 408, offer no new views. Du Pratz is unnecessarily skeptical. The French translator of Vega has not a word of valuable criticism. Of English authors, neither Purchas nor Harris has furnished any useful illustrations. Of books published in America, Belknap, in Am. Biog. i. 185—195, comments with his usual care. McCulloh, in his Researches, Appendix, iii. 523—531, makes an earnest attempt to trace the route of Soto. So Nuttall, in his Travels in Arkansas, Appendix, 247—267. Nuttall had himself roved through the same regions, and his opinions are justly entitled to much deference. Flint only glances at the subject. Stoddard, in his Sketches, 4, is vague and without detail. I have compared all these authors: the account in Hakluyt, with good modern maps, can lead to firm conclusions.

2 Ensayo Cronologico, Año MDXLIV.

CHAP. II. severing; Louis Cancello, a missionary of the Dominican order, gained, through Philip, then heir apparent 1547. Dec. 28. in Spain, permission to visit Florida, and attempt the peaceful conversion of the natives. Christianity was to conquer the land against which so many expeditions had failed. The Spanish governors were directed to favor the design; all slaves, that had been taken from the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, were to be manumitted and restored to their country. A 1549 ship was fitted out with much solemnity; but the priests, who sought the first interview with the natives, were feared as enemies, and, being immediately attacked, Louis and two others fell martyrs to their zeal.[1]

Florida was abandoned. It seemed as if death guarded the avenues to the country.[2] While the Castilians were every where else victorious, Florida was wet with the blood of the invaders, who had still been unable to possess themselves of her soil. The coast of our republic on the Gulf of Mexico was not, at this time, disputed by any other nation with Spain; while that power claimed, under the name of Florida, the whole seacoast as far as Newfoundland,[3] and even to the remotest north. In Spanish geography, Canada was a part of Florida.[4] Yet within that whole extent, not a Spanish fort was erected, not a harbor was occupied, not one settlement was begun. The first permanent establishment of the Spaniards in Florida was the result of jealous bigotry.

1 Ensayo Cronologico, 25, 26; Vega, l. vi. c. xxii.; Gomara, c. xlv.; Urbani Calvetonis de Gallorum in Floridam Expeditione Brevis Historia, c. i., annexed to Nov. Nov. Orbis Hist. 432, 433; Eden and Willes, fol. 229; De Bry's introduction and parergon to his Brevis Narratio eorum quæ in Florida Gallis acciderunt. Thuani Hist. l. xliv.

2 Gom. c. xlv.; Vega, l. vi. c. xxii.

3 Herrera's West Indies, c. viii. in Purchas, iv. 868.

4 Bolvio á la Florida Champlain · entrò en Quebec, &c. Ensayo Cronologico, 179.

For France had begun to settle the region with a colony of Protestants; and Calvinism, which, with the special coöperation of Calvin himself, had, for a short season, occupied the coasts of Brazil and the harbor of Rio Janeiro,[1] was now to be planted on the borders of Florida. Coligny had long desired to establish a refuge for the Huguenots, and a Protestant French empire, in America. Disappointed in his first effort, by the apostasy and faithlessness of his agent, Villegagnon, he still persevered; moved alike by religious zeal, and by a passion for the honor of France. The expedition which he now planned was intrusted to the command of John Ribault of Dieppe, a brave man, of maritime experience, and a firm Protestant, and was attended by some of the best of the young French nobility, as well as by veteran troops. The feeble Charles IX. conceded an ample commission, and the squadron set sail for the shores of North America. Desiring to establish their plantation in a genial clime, land was first made in the latitude of St. Augustine; the fine river which we call the St. Johns,[2] was discovered, and named the River of May. It is the St. Matheo[3] of the Spaniards. The forests of mulberries were admired, and caterpillars readily mistaken for silkworms. The cape received a French name; as the ships sailed along the coast, the numerous streams were called after the rivers of France; and America, for a while, had its Seine, its Loire, and its Garonne. In searching for the Jordan or Combahee, they came upon Port Royal entrance,[4] which seemed the outlet

CHAP II. 1562 1555 1562 Feb. 18. May

[1] De Thou's Hist. l. xvi. Lery, Hist. Nav. in Bras. An abridgment of the description, but not of the personal narrative, appears in Purchas, iv. 1325—1347. L'Escarbot, N. F. i. 143—214; Southey's Brazil, part i. c. ix.

[2] Compare the criticism of Holmes's Annals, i. 567.

[3] Ensayo Cronologico, p. 43.

[4] Laudonniere, in Hakluyt, iii. 373. The description is sufficiently minute and accurate; removing all doubt. Before the geography of the coun-

CHAP. II. 1562. of a magnificent river. The greatest ships of France and the argosies of Venice could ride securely in the deep water of the harbor. The site for a first settlement is apt to be injudiciously selected; the local advantages which favor the growth of large cities, are revealed by time. It was perhaps on Parris Island, that a monumental stone, engraved with the arms of France, was proudly raised; and as the company looked round upon the immense oaks, which were venerable from the growth of centuries, the profusion of wild fowls, the groves of pine, the flowers so fragrant that the whole air was perfumed, they already regarded the country as a province of their native land. Ribault determined to leave a colony; twenty-six composed the whole party, which was to keep possession of the continent. Fort Charles, the Carolina,[1] so called in honor of Charles IX. of France, first gave a name to the country, a century before it was occupied by the English. The name remained, though the early colony perished.[2]

July 20 Ribault and the ships arrived safely in France. But the fires of civil war had been kindled in all the provinces of the kingdom; and the promised reinforcements for Carolina were never levied. The situation of the French became precarious. The natives were friendly; but the soldiers themselves were insubordinate; and dissensions prevailed. The commandant at Carolina repressed the turbulent spirit with arbitrary cruelty, and lost his life in a mutiny which his ungovernable passion had provoked. The new commander

try was well known, there was room for the error of Charlevoix, Nouv. Fr. i. 25, who places the settlement at the mouth of the Edisto, an error which is followed by Chalmers, 513. It is no reproach to Charlevoix, that his geography of the coast of Florida is confused and inaccurate. Compare Johnson's Life of Greene, i. 477.

1 Munitionem Carolinam, de regis nomine dictum. De Thou, l xliv. 531, edition of 1626.

2 Hening, i. 552; and Thurloe, ii. 273, 274.

succeeded in restoring order. But the love of his native land is a passion easily revived in the breast of a Frenchman; and the company resolved to embark in such a brigantine as they could themselves construct. Intoxicated with joy at the thought of returning home, they neglected to provide sufficient stores; and they were overtaken by famine at sea, with its attendant crimes. A small English bark at length boarded their vessel, and, setting the most feeble on shore upon the coast of France, carried the rest to the queen of England. Thus fell the first attempt of France in French Florida, near the southern confines of South Carolina. The country was still a desert.[1]

CHAP. II. 1562. 1563.

After the treacherous peace between Charles IX. and the Huguenots, Coligny renewed his solicitations for the colonization of Florida. The king gave consent; three ships were conceded for the service; and Laudonniere, who, in the former voyage, had been upon the American coast, a man of great intelligence, though a seaman rather than a soldier, was appointed to lead forth the colony. Emigrants readily appeared; for the climate of Florida was so celebrated, that, according to rumor, the duration of human life was doubled under its genial influences;[2] and men still dreamed of rich mines of gold in the interior. Coligny was desirous of obtaining accurate descriptions of the country; and James le Moyne, called De Morgues, an ingenious painter, was commissioned to execute colored drawings of the objects which might engage his curiosity. A voyage of sixty days brought the fleet, by the way of the Canaries and the Antilles, to the shores

1564. April 22 to June 22.

[1] Laudonniere, in Hakluyt, iii. 371—384. Compare De Thou, a contemporary, l. xliv.; Charlevoix, N. Fr. i. 24—35 Ensayo Cronologico, 42—45; L'Escarbot, Nouv. Fr. i. 41—62.

[2] De Thou, l. xliv.; Hakluyt, iv. 389.

CHAP. II. 1564 of Florida. The harbor of Port Royal, rendered gloomy by recollections of misery, was avoided; and after searching the coast, and discovering places which were so full of amenity, that melancholy itself could not but change its humor, as it gazed, the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the River May. They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and gathered courage from acts of devotion. The fort now erected was also named Carolina. The result of this attempt to procure for France immense dominions at the south of our republic, through the agency of a Huguenot colony, has been very frequently narrated:[1] in the history of human nature it forms a dark picture of vindictive bigotry.

The French were hospitably welcomed by the natives; a monument, bearing the arms of France, was crowned with laurels, and its base encircled with baskets of corn. What need is there of minutely relating the simple manners of the red men; the dissensions of rival tribes; the largesses offered to the strangers to secure their protection or their alliance; the improvident prodigality with which careless soldiers wasted the supplies of food; the certain approach of scarcity; the gifts and the tribute levied from the Indians by entreaty, menace, or force? By degrees the confidence

1 There are four original accounts by eye-witnesses: Laudonniere, in Hakluyt, iii. 384—419: Le Moyne, in De Bry, part ii., together with the Epistola Supplicatoria, from the widows and orphans of the sufferers, to Charles IX.; also in De Bry, part ii: Challus, or Challusius, of Dieppe, whose account I have found annexed to Calveto's Nov. Nov. Orb. Hist. under the title De Gallorum Expeditione in Floridam, 433—469: and the Spanish account by Solis de las Meras, the brother-in-law and apologist of Melendez, in Ensayo Cronologico, 85—90. On Solis, compare Crisis del Ensayo, 22, 23. I have drawn my narrative from a comparison of these four accounts; consulting also the admirable De Thou, a genuine worshipper at the shrine of truth, l. xliv.; the diffuse Barcia's Ensayo Cronologico, 42—94; the elaborate and circumstantial narrative of Charlevoix, N. Fr. i. 24—106; and the account of L'Escarbot, i. 62—129. The accounts do not essentially vary. Voltaire and many others have repeated the tale.

of the natives was exhausted; they had welcomed powerful guests, who promised to become their benefactors, and who now robbed their humble granaries. CHAP II. 1564

But the worst evil in the new settlement was the character of the emigrants. Though patriotism and religious enthusiasm had prompted the expedition, the inferior class of the colonists was a motley group of dissolute men. Mutinies were frequent. The men were mad with the passion for sudden wealth; and a party, under the pretence of desiring to escape from famine, compelled Laudonniere to sign an order, permitting their embarkation for New Spain. No sooner 1564. Dec. 8. were they possessed of this apparent sanction of the chief, than they equipped two vessels, and began a career of piracy against the Spaniards. Thus the French were the aggressors in the first act of hostility in the New World; an act of crime and temerity which was soon avenged. The pirate vessel was taken, and most of the men disposed of as prisoners or slaves. A few escaped in a boat; these could find no shelter but at Fort Carolina, where Laudonniere sentenced the ringleaders to death.

Meantime, the scarcity became extreme; and the 1565 friendship of the natives was entirely forfeited by unprofitable severity. March was gone, and there were no supplies from France; April passed away, and the expected recruits had not arrived; May came, but it brought nothing to sustain the hopes of the exiles. It was resolved to return to Europe in such miserable brigantines as despair could construct. Just then, Sir John Hawkins,[1] the slave-merchant, arrived from the Aug 3 West Indies. He came fresh from the sale of a cargo of Africans, whom he had kidnapped with signal ruth-

[1] Hawkins, in Hakluyt, iii. 615, 616.

CHAP. II. 1565 lessness; and he now displayed the most generous sympathy, not only furnishing a liberal supply of provisions, but relinquishing a vessel from his own fleet. Preparations were continued; the colony was on the point of embarking, when sails were descried. Ribault had arrived to assume the command; bringing with him supplies of every kind, emigrants with their families, garden seeds, implements of husbandry, and the various kinds of domestic animals. The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida.

But Spain had never relinquished her claim to that territory; where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried many hundreds of her bravest sons. Should the proud Philip II. abandon a part of his dominions to France? Should he suffer his commercial monopoly to be endangered by a rival settlement in the vicinity of the West Indies? Should the bigoted Romanist permit the heresy of Calvinism to be planted in the neighborhood of his Catholic provinces? There had appeared at the Spanish court a bold commander, well fitted for acts of reckless hostility. Pedro Melendez de Avilès had, in a long career of military service, become accustomed to scenes of blood; and his natural ferocity had been confirmed by his course of life. Often, as a naval officer, encountering pirates, he had become inured to acts of prompt and unsparing vengeance. He had acquired wealth in Spanish America, which was no school of benevolence; and his conduct there had provoked an inquiry, which, after a long arrest, ended in his conviction. The nature of his offences is not apparent; the justice of

the sentence is confirmed, for the king, who knew him well, esteemed his bravery, and received him again into his service, remitted only a moiety of his fine. The heir of Melendez had been shipwrecked among the Bermudas; the father desired to return and search among the islands for tidings of his only son. Philip II. suggested the conquest and colonization of Florida; and a compact was soon framed and confirmed, by which Melendez, who desired an opportunity to retrieve his honor, was constituted the hereditary governor of a territory of almost unlimited extent.[1]

CHAP. II. 1565

Mar. 20

The terms of the compact[2] are curious. Melendez, on his part, promised, at his own cost, in the following May, to invade Florida with at least five hundred men; to complete its conquest within three years; to explore its currents and channels, the dangers of its coasts, and the depth of its havens; to establish a colony of at least five hundred persons, of whom one hundred should be married men; to introduce at least twelve ecclesiastics, besides four Jesuits. It was further stipulated, that he should transport to his province all kinds of domestic animals. The bigoted Philip II. had no scruples respecting slavery; Melendez contracted to import into Florida five hundred negro slaves. The sugar-cane was to become a staple of the country.

The king, in return, promised the adventurer various commercial immunities; the office of governor for life, with the right of naming his son-in-law as his successor; an estate of twenty-five square leagues in the immediate vicinity of the settlement; a salary of two thousand ducats, chargeable on the revenues of the province; and a fifteenth part of all royal perquisites.

1 Ensayo Cronolog. 57—65. 2 Ibid. 66.

CHAP. II. 1565. Meantime, news arrived, as the French writers assert, through the treachery of the court of France, that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with reinforcements. The cry was raised, that the heretics must be extirpated, the enthusiasm of fanaticism was kindled, and Melendez readily obtained all the forces which he required. More than twenty-five hundred persons—soldiers, sailors, priests, Jesuits, married men with their families, laborers, and mechanics, and, with the exception of three hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Melendez—engaged in the invasion. After delays occasioned
July. by a storm, the expedition set sail; and the trade-winds soon bore them rapidly across the Atlantic. A tempest scattered the fleet on its passage; it was with only one third part of his forces, that Melendez arrived
Aug 9. at the harbor of St. John in Porto Rico. But he esteemed celerity the secret of success; and, refusing to await the arrival of the rest of his squadron, he sailed for Florida. It had ever been his design to explore the coast; to select a favorable site for a fort or a settlement; and, after the construction of fortifications, to
Aug. 28. attack the French. It was on the day which the customs of Rome have consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent sons of Africa, and one of the most venerated of the fathers of the church, that he came in sight of Florida.[1] For four days, he sailed along the coast, uncertain where the French were es-
Sept. 2. tablished; on the fifth day, he landed, and gathered from the Indians accounts of the Huguenots. At the same time, he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river; and, remembering the saint, on whose day he came upon the coast, he gave to the harbor and to the

[1] Ensayo Cronolog. 68—70.

stream the name of St. Augustine.[1] Sailing, then, to the north, he discovered a portion of the French fleet, and observed the nature of the road where they were anchored. The French demanded his name and objects. "I am Melendez of Spain," replied he; "sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic, I will spare; every heretic shall die."[2] The French fleet, unprepared for action, cut its cables; the Spaniards, for some time, continued an ineffectual chase.

CHAP. II.

1565 Sept. 4.

It was at the hour of vespers, on the evening preceding the festival of the nativity of Mary, that the Spaniards returned to the harbor of St. Augustine. At noonday of the festival itself, the governor went on shore, to take possession of the continent in the name of his king. The bigoted Philip II. was proclaimed monarch of all North America. The solemn mass of Our Lady was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine was immediately laid.[3] It is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States. Houses in it are yet standing, which are said to have been built many years before Virginia was colonized.[4]

Sept 7.

Sept. 8.

By the French it was debated, whether they should improve their fortifications, and await the approach of the Spaniards, or proceed to sea, and attack their enemy. Against the advice of his officers, Ribault resolved upon the latter course. Hardly had he left the harbor for the open sea, before there arose a fearful storm, which continued till October, and wrecked every

Sept. 10.

1 Ensayo Cronolog. 71.

2 El que fuere herege, morirà. Ensayo Cronologico, 75, 76. It is the account of the apologist and admirer of Melendez.

3 Laudonniere. "They put their soldiers, victual, and munition, on land." Hakluyt, iii. 433. Ensayo Cronologico, 76, 77. Prince Murat, in Am. Q. Rev. ii. 216. De Thou, l. xliv.

4 Stoddard's Sketches, 120.

CHAP. II. 1565 ship of the French fleet on the Florida coast. The vessels were dashed against the rocks about fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina; most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish ships also suffered, but not so severely; and the troops at St. Augustine were entirely safe They knew that the French settlement was left in a defenceless state: with a fanatical indifference to toil, Melendez led his men through the lakes, and marshes, and forests, that divided the St. Augustine from the St. Johns, and, with a furious onset, surprised the weak garrison, who had looked only towards the sea for the approach of danger. Sept. 21. After a short contest, the Spaniards were masters of the fort. A scene of carnage ensued; soldiers, women, children, the aged, the sick, were alike massacred. The Spanish account asserts, that Melendez ordered women and young children to be spared; yet not till after the havoc had long been raging.

Nearly two hundred persons were killed. A few escaped into the woods, among them Laudonniere, Challus, and Le Moyne, who have related the horrors of the scene. But whither should they fly? Death met them in the woods; and the heavens, the earth, the sea, and men, all seemed conspired against them. Should they surrender, appealing to the sympathy of their conquerors? "Let us," said Challus, "trust in the mercy of God, rather than of these men." A few gave themselves up, and were immediately murdered. The others, after the severest sufferings, found their way to the sea-side, and were received on board two small French vessels which had remained in the harbor. The Spaniards, angry that any should have escaped, insulted the corpses of the dead with wanton barbarity.

CHAP. II. 1565. Sept. 21

The victory had been gained on the festival of St. Matthew; and hence the Spanish name of the River May. After the carnage was completed, mass was said; a cross was raised; and the site for a church selected, on ground still smoking with the blood of a peaceful colony. So willingly is the human mind the dupe of its prejudices; so easily can fanaticism connect acts of savage ferocity with the rites of a merciful religion.

The shipwrecked men were, in their turn, soon discovered. They were in a state of helpless weakness, wasted by their fatigues at sea, half famished, destitute of water and of food. Should they surrender to the Spaniards? Melendez invited them to rely on his compassion;[1] the French capitulated, and were received among the Spaniards in such successive divisions as a boat could at once ferry across the intervening river. As the captives stepped upon the bank which their enemies occupied, their hands were tied behind them; and in this way they were marched towards St. Augustine, like a flock of sheep driven to the slaughter-house. As they approached the fort, a signal was given; and, amidst the sound of trumpets and drums, the Spaniards fell upon the unhappy men, who had confided in their humanity, and who could offer no resistance. A few Catholics were spared; some mechanics were reserved as slaves; the rest were massacred, "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The whole number of the victims of bigotry, here and at the fort, is said, by the French, to have been about nine hundred;[2] the Spanish accounts diminish the

[1] So says his apologist. Si ellos quieren entregarle las Vanderas, è las armas, è ponerse en su misericordia, lo pueden hacer, para que èl haga de ellos lo que Dios le diere de gracia. Is not this an implied promise of mercy?

[2] Epist. Sup. in De Bry, ii.

CHAP. II. number of the slain but not the atrocity of the deed Melendez returned to Spain, impoverished, but triumphant. The French government heard of the outrage with apathy, and made not even a remonstrance on the ruin of a colony, which, if it had been protected, would have given to its country a flourishing empire in the south, before England had planted a single spot on the new continent. History has been more faithful, and has assisted humanity by giving to the crime of Melendez an infamous notoriety. The first town in the United States sprung from the unrelenting bigotry of the Spanish king. We admire the rapid growth of our larger cities; the sudden transformation of portions of the wilderness into blooming states. St. Augustine presents a stronger contrast, in its transition from the bigoted policy of Philip II. to the American principles of religious liberty. Its origin should be carefully remembered, for it is a fixed point, from which to measure the liberal influence of time; the progress of modern civilization; the victories of the American mind, in its contests for the interests of humanity.

1567. The Huguenots and the French nation did not share the indifference of the court. Dominic de Gourgues—a bold soldier of Gascony, whose life had been a series of adventures, now employed in the army against Spain, now a prisoner and a galley-slave among the Spaniards, taken by the Turks with the vessel in which he rowed, and redeemed by the commander of the knights of Malta—burned with a desire to avenge his own wrongs and the honor of his country. The sale of his property, and the contributions of his friends, furnished the means of equipping three ships, in
Aug. 22. which, with one hundred and fifty men, he embarked

for Florida, not to found a colony, but only to destroy CHAP. II. and revenge. He surprised two forts near the mouth of the St. Matheo; and, as terror magnified the num- 1568 ber of his followers, the consternation of the Spaniards enabled him to gain possession of the larger establishment, near the spot which the French colony had occupied. Too weak to maintain his position, he, in May, 1565, hastily weighed anchor for Europe, May. having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers."[1] The natives, who had been ill treated both by the Spaniards and the French, enjoyed the consolation of seeing their enemies butcher one another.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. France disavowed the expedition, and relinquished all pretension to Florida. Spain grasped at it, as a portion of her dominions; and, if discovery could confer a right, her claim was founded in justice. Cuba now formed the centre of her West Indian possessions, and every thing around it was included within her empire. Sovereignty was asserted, not only over the archipelagos within the tropics, but over the whole continent round the inner seas. From the remotest south-eastern cape of the Caribbean, along the whole shore to the Cape of Florida, and beyond it, all was hers. The Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within her territories.

[1] I owe to R. Biddle, the biographer of Cabot, a manuscript copy of the record of these events, preserved in the family of De Gourges, and another from the Royal Library at Paris.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND TAKES POSSESSION OF THE UNITED STATES.

CHAP. III. THE attempts of the French to colonize Florida, though unprotected and unsuccessful, were not without an important influence on succeeding events. About the time of the return of De Gourgues, Walter Raleigh,[1] a young Englishman, had abruptly left the university

1569 to 1575 of Oxford, to take part in the civil contests between the Huguenots and the Catholics in France, and with the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., was learning the art of war under the veteran Coligny. The Protestant party was, at that time, strongly excited with indignation at the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged; and Raleigh could not but gather from his associates and his commander intelligence respecting Florida and the navigation to those regions. Some of the miserable men who escaped from the first expedition, had been conducted to Elizabeth,[2] and had kindled in the public mind in England a desire for the possession of the southern coast of our republic; the reports of Hawkins,[3] who had been the benefactor of the French on the River May, increased the national excitement; and De Morgues,[4] the painter, who had sketched in Florida the most remarkable appearances of nature, ultimately found the opportunity of finishing his designs, through the munificence of Raleigh.

1 Oldys' Raleigh, 16, 17. Tytler's Raleigh, 19—23.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 384

3 Ibid. iii. 612—617.

4 Hakluyt, iii. 364. Compare a marginal note to iii. 425.

CHAP III.

The progress of English maritime enterprise had prepared the way for vigorous efforts at colonization. The second expedition of the Cabots was, as we have 1498 seen, connected with plans for settlements. Other commissions, for the same object, were issued by Henry VII. In the patent, which an American histo- 150 Mar 19. rian has recently published,[1] the design of establishing emigrants in the New World is distinctly proposed, and encouraged by the concession of a limited monopoly of the colonial trade and of commercial privileges. It is probable, that at least one voyage was made under the authority of this commission; for in the year after it was granted, natives of North Ameri- 1502 ca, in their wild attire, were exhibited to the public wonder of England.[2]

Yet if a voyage was actually made, its success was inconsiderable. A new patent,[3] with larger conces- 1502 Dec. 9 sions, was issued, in part to the same patentees; and there is reason to believe, that the king now favored by gratuities[4] the expedition, which no longer appeared to promise any considerable returns. Where no profits followed adventure, navigation soon languished. Yet the connection between England and the New-Found Land was never abandoned. Documentary evidence exists of voyages[5] favored by the English, till the time when the Normans, the Biscayans, and the Bretons, began to frequent the fisheries on the American coast. Is it probable, that English mariners ever wholly resigned to a rival nation the benefits arising from their own discoveries? 1509 to 1547

Nor was the reign of Henry VIII. unfavorable to

1 Memoir of Cabot, 306—314.
2 Stow, An. 1502, 483, 484.
3 Rymer's Fœdera, xiii. 37—42. Bacon's Henry VII.
4 Mem. of Cabot, 226. Note.
5 Mem. of Cabot, 229, 230.

CHAP. III the mercantile interests of his kingdom; and that monarch, while his life was still unstained by profligacy, and his passions not yet hardened into the stubborn selfishness of despotism, considered the discovery of the north as his "charge and duty," and made such experiments as the favorable situation of England appeared to demand.[1] An account has already been

1517. given of the last voyage of discovery in which Sebastian Cabot was personally engaged for his native land. Is it not probable, that other expeditions were made, with the favor of King Henry and of Wolsey, although no distinct account of them has been preserved? Of

1527. one such voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage, there exists a relation,[2] written by Rut, the commander of one of the ships, and forwarded from the haven of St. John in Newfoundland. This implies a direct and established intercourse between England and the American coast. Some part of the country was explored; for the English never abandoned the hope of planting a colony on the continent which Cabot had discovered.

The jealousy of the Spanish nation was excited, and already began to fear English rivalry in the New World.[3] Henry VIII. was vigorous in his attempts to check piracy; and the navigation of his subjects was extended under the security of his protection. The banner of St. George was often displayed in the harbors of Northern Africa and in the Levant;[4] and when commerce, emancipated from the confinement of the inner seas, went boldly forth to make the ocean its chief highway, England became more emulous to

1 Thorne's letter, in 1527, to Henry VIII., in Hakluyt, i. 236.

2 Purchas, iii. 809. Hakluyt, iii. 167, 168. Mem. of S. Cabot, part ii. c. ix.

3 Herrera, d. ii. l. v. c. iii. Compare Oviedo, l. xix. c. xiii. in Ramusio, iii. fol. 204.

4 Hill's Naval History, 267

engage in a competition, in which her position gave her a pledge of success. When voyages for traffic were already made by English merchants between the coasts of Africa and Brazil, it may be safely believed, that the nearer shores of North America were not neglected.

CHAP. III.

1530

An account exists of one expedition, which was conducted by Hore, and "assisted by the good countenance of Henry VIII." But the incidents, as they were related to the inquisitive Hakluyt by "the only man then alive, that had been in the discovery," are embellished with improbable aggravations of distress. Memory, at all periods of life, is easily deceived by the imagination; and men who relate marvellous tales of personal adventure, are the first to become the dupes of their own inventions. The old sailor, perhaps, believed his story, in which frequent repetition may have gradually deepened the shades of horror. Cannibalism is the crime of famine at sea; men do not often devour one another on shore, least of all on a coast abounding in wild fowl and fish. The English may have suffered from want; and as a French ship, "well furnished with vittails," approached Newfoundland, they obtained possession of it by a stroke of "policie," which, if dishonest, seems not to have been regarded as disgraceful, and set sail for England. The French followed in the English ship, and complained of the exchange. It shows the favor of Henry VIII. to maritime enterprise, that he pardoned his subjects the wrong, and of his own private purse "made full and royal recompense to the French."[1]

1536

The statute books of England soon gave proof, that the "new land" of America had engaged the attention

1541

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 168—170.

CHAP. III.

of parliament;[1] and, after the accession of Edward, the fisheries of Newfoundland obtained the protection of a
1548. special act.[2] The preamble to this latter statute declares the navigation to have been burdened for years by exactions from the officers of the admiralty; and its enactments forbid the continuance of the oppression. An active commerce must have long existed, since exactions, levied upon it, had almost become prescriptive.

But India was still esteemed the great region of wealth; and England, then having no anticipation of one day becoming the sovereign of Hindostan, hoped for a peaceful intercourse only by the discovery of a new and nearer avenue to Southern Asia. Thrice, at least, perhaps thrice by Cabot alone, the attempt at a north-western passage had been made, and always in
1553. vain. A north-east course was now proposed; the fleet of Willoughby and Chancellor was to reach the rich lands of Cathay by doubling the northern promontory of Lapland. The ships parted company. The fate of Willoughby was as tragical as the issue of the voyage of Chancellor was successful. The admiral, with one of the ships, was driven, by the severity of the polar autumn, to seek shelter in a Lapland harbor, which afforded protection against storms, but not against the rigors of the season. When search was made for him in the following spring, Willoughby him-
1554. self was found dead in his cabin; and his journal, detailing his sufferings from the polar winter, was complete probably to the day when his senses were suspended by the intolerable cold. His ship's company lay dead in various parts of the vessel, some alone, some in groups. The other ship reached the harbor

1 33 Henry VIII., c. ii. Ruffhead, ii. 304.

2 2 Edward VI., in Ruffhead, ii. 412. Hakluyt, iii. 170 Hazard, i. 22, 23.

of Archangel. This was "the discovery of Russia," and the commencement of maritime commerce with that empire. A Spanish writer calls the result of the voyage "a discovery of new Indies."[1] The Russian nation, one of the oldest and least mixed in Europe now awakening from a long lethargy, emerged into political distinction. We have seen that, about eleven years from this time, the first town in the United States' territory was permanently built. So rapid are the changes on the theatre of nations! One of the leading powers of the age, but about two and a half centuries ago became known to Western Europe; another had not then one white man within its limits.

CHAP. III. 1554

The principle of joint stock companies, so favorable to every enterprise of uncertain result, by dividing the risks, and by nourishing a spirit of emulous zeal in behalf of an inviting scheme, was applied to the purposes of navigation; and a company of merchant adventurers was incorporated for the discovery of unknown lands.[2] 1555

For even the intolerance of Queen Mary could not check the passion for maritime adventure. The sea was becoming the element on which English valor was to display its greatest boldness; English sailors neither feared the sultry heats and consuming fevers of the tropics, nor the intense severity of northern cold. The trade to Russia, now that the port of Archangel had been discovered, gradually increased and became very lucrative; and a regular and as yet an innocent commerce was carried on with Africa.[3] The marriage of Mary with the king of Spain tended to excite the emulation which it was designed to check. The en-

1553 to 1558

1553

1554 July 25

[1] Hakluyt, i. 251—284. Turner's England, iii. 298—301. Purchas, iii. 462, 463.

[2] Hakluyt, i. 298—304.

[3] The Viage to Guinea in 1553, in Eden and Willes, fol. 336, 337—353.

CHAP. III. thusiasm awakened by the brilliant pageantry with which King Philip was introduced into London, excited Richard Eden[1] to gather into a volume the history of the most memorable maritime expeditions. Religious restraints, the thirst for rapid wealth, the desire of strange adventure, had driven the boldest spirits of Spain to the New World; their deeds had been commemorated by the copious and accurate details of the Spanish historians; and the English, through the alliance of their sovereign made familiar with the Spanish language and literature, became emulous of Spanish success beyond the ocean.

1558. The firmness of Elizabeth seconded the enterprise of her subjects. They were rendered the more proud and intractable for the short and unsuccessful effort to make England an appendage to Spain; and the triumph of Protestantism, quickening the spirit of nationality, gave a new impulse to the people. England, no longer the ally, but the antagonist of Philip, claimed the glory of being the mistress of the northern seas, and prepared to extend its commerce to every clime. The queen strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England: she animated the adventurers to Russia and to Africa by her
1561 to 1568. special protection; and while her subjects were endeavoring to penetrate into Persia by land, and enlarge their commerce with the East[2] by combining the use of ships and caravans, the harbors of Spanish America were at the same time visited by their privateers in pursuit of the rich galleons of Spain, and at least from
1574-8 thirty to fifty English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland.[3]

1 Eden's Decades, published in 1555.

2 Eden and Willes. The Voyages of Persia, travailed by the Merchantes of London, &c. in 1561 1567, 1568, fol. 321, and ff.

3 Parkhurst, in Hakluyt, iii. 171

CHAP. III.

The possibility of effecting a north-west passage had ever been maintained by Cabot. The study of geography had now become an interesting pursuit; the press teemed with books of travels, maps and descriptions of the earth; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, engaged deeply in the science of cosmography. A judicious and well-written argument[1] in favor of the possibility of a north-western passage was the fruit of his literary industry.

1576

The same views were entertained by one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean. For fifteen years, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, well versed in various navigation, had revolved the design of accomplishing the discovery of the north-western passage; esteeming it "the only thing of the world, that was yet left undone, by which a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate."[2] Too poor himself to provide a ship, it was in vain that he conferred with friends; in vain he offered his services to merchants. After years of desire, his representations found a hearing at court; and Dudley, earl of Warwick, liberally promoted his design.[3] Two small barks of twenty-five and of twenty tons', with a pinnace of ten tons' burden, composed the whole fleet, which was to enter gulfs that none before him had visited. As they dropped down the Thames, Queen Elizabeth waved her hand in token of favor, and, by an honorable message, transmitted her approbation of an adventure which her own treasures had not contributed to advance During a storm on the voyage, the pinnace was swallowed up by the sea; the mariners in the Michael became terrified, and turned their prow home

June 8.

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 32—47.
[2] Best, in Hakluyt, iii. 86.
[3] Willes's Essay for M. Frobisher's voyage, in Eden and Willes, fol. 230, and ff.; in Hakluyt, iii. 47—52.

CHAP. III. 1576. wards; but Frobisher, in a vessel not much surpassing in tonnage the barge of a man-of-war, made his way, fearless and unattended, to the shores of Labrador. and to a passage or inlet north of the entrance of Hudson's Bay. A strange perversion has transferred the scene of his discoveries to the eastern coast of Greenland;[1] it was among a group of American islands, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, that he entered what seemed to be a strait. Hope suggested that his object was obtained; that the land on the south was America; on the north was the continent of Asia; and that the strait opened into the immense Pacific. Great praise is due to Frobisher. for penetrating far beyond all former mariners into the bays and among the islands of this Meta Incognita. this unknown goal of discovery. Yet his voyage was a failure. To land upon an island, and, perhaps, on the main; to gather up stones and rubbish, in token of having taken possession of the country for Elizabeth; to seize one of the natives of the north for exhibition to the gaze of Europe;—these were all the results which he accomplished.

1577. What followed marks the insane passions of the age. America and mines were always thought of together. A stone, which had been brought from the frozen regions, was pronounced by the refiners of London to contain gold. The news excited the wakeful avarice of the city: there were not wanting those who endeavored to purchase of Elizabeth a lease of the new lands, of which the loose minerals were so full of the precious metal. A fleet was immediately fitted out, to procure more of the gold, rather than to make any

[1] Forster's Northern Voyages, 274—284; Hist. des Voyages, t. xv 94—100.

further research for the passage into the Pacific; and the queen, who had contributed nothing to the voyage of discovery, sent a large ship of her own to join the expedition, which was now to conduct to infinite opulence. More men than could be employed volunteered their services; those who were discharged resigned their brilliant hopes with reluctance. The mariners, having received the communion, embarked for the arctic El Dorado, "and with a merrie wind" soon arrived at the Orkneys. As they reached the north-eastern coast of America, the dangers of the polar seas became imminent; mountains of ice encompassed them on every side; but as the icebergs were brilliant in the high latitude with the light of an almost perpetual summer's day, the worst perils were avoided. Yet the mariners were alternately agitated with fears of shipwreck and joy at escape. At one moment they expected death; and at the next they looked for gold. The fleet made no discoveries; it did not advance so far as Frobisher alone had done.[1] But it found large heaps of earth, which, even to the incredulous, seemed plainly to contain the coveted wealth; besides, spiders abounded; and "spiders were" affirmed to be "true signs of great store of gold."[2] In freighting the ships, the admiral himself toiled like a painful laborer. How strange, in human affairs, is the mixture of sublime courage and ludicrous folly! What bolder maritime enterprise, than, in that day, a voyage to lands lying north of Hudson's Straits! What folly more egregious, than to have gone there for a lading of useless earth!

CHAP. III. 1577

May 27.

June 7

But credulity is apt to be self-willed. What is there which the passion for gold will not prompt? It defies

[1] Best, in Hakluyt, iii. 95.
[2] Settle, in Hakluyt, iii. 63. How rich, then, the alcoves of a library!

CHAP. III. danger, and laughs at obstacles; it resists loss, and anticipates treasures; unrelenting in its pursuit, it is deaf to the voice of mercy, and blind to the cautions of judgment; it can penetrate the prairies of Arkansas, and covet the moss-grown barrens of the Esquimaux. I
1578. have now to relate the first attempt of the English, under the patronage of Elizabeth, to plant an establishment in America.[1]

It was believed that the rich mines of the polar regions would countervail the charges of a costly adventure; the hope of a passage to Cathay increased, and for the security of the newly-discovered lands, soldiers and discreet men were selected to become their inhabitants. A magnificent fleet of fifteen sail was assembled, in part at the expense of Elizabeth; the sons of the English gentry embarked as volunteers; one hundred persons were chosen to form the colony, which was to secure to England a country more desirable than Peru, a country too inhospitable to produce a tree or a shrub, yet where gold lay, not charily concealed in mines, but glistening in heaps upon the surface. Twelve vessels were to return immediately with cargoes of the ore; three were ordered to remain and aid the settlement. The north-west passage was now become of less consideration; Asia itself could not vie with the riches of this hyperborean archipelago

1578. May 31, to Sept. 28. But the entrance to these wealthy islands was rendered difficult by frost; and the fleet of Frobisher, as it now approached the American coast, was bewildered among immense icebergs, which were so vast, that, as they melted, torrents poured from them in sparkling waterfalls. One vessel was crushed and sunk, though the men on board were saved. In the dangerous

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 71—73.

1578

mists, the ships lost their course, and came into the straits which have since been called Hudson's, and which lie south of the imagined gold regions. The admiral believed himself able to sail through to the Pacific, and resolve the doubt respecting the passage. But his duty as a mercantile agent controlled his desire of glory as a navigator. He struggled to regain the harbor where his vessels were to be laden; and, after encountering peril of every kind; "getting in at one gap and out at another;" escaping only by miracle from hidden rocks and unknown currents, ice, and a lee shore, which was, at one time, avoided only by a prosperous breath of wind in the very moment of extreme danger,—he at last arrived at the haven in the Countess of Warwick's Sound. The zeal of the volunteer colonists had moderated; and the disheartened sailors were ready to mutiny. One ship, laden with provisions for the colony, deserted and returned; and an island was discovered with enough of the black ore "to suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world." The plan of the settlement was abandoned. It only remained to freight the home-bound ships with a store of minerals. They who engage in a foolish project, combine, in case of failure, to conceal their loss; for a confession of the truth would be an impeachment of their judgment; so that unfortunate speculations are promptly consigned to oblivion. The adventurers and the historians of the voyage are silent about the disposition which was made of the cargo of the fleet. The knowledge of the seas was not extended; the credulity of avarice met with a rebuke; and the belief in regions of gold among the Esquimaux was dissipated; but there remained a firm conviction, that a passage to the

CHAP. III. Pacific Ocean might yet be threaded among the icebergs and northern islands of America.[1]

While Frobisher was thus attempting to obtain wealth and fame on the north-east coast of America, the western limits of the territory of the United States became known. Embarking on a voyage in quest of
1577 to 1580. fortune, Francis Drake acquired immense treasures as a freebooter in the Spanish harbors on the Pacific, and, having laden his ship with spoils, gained for himself enduring glory by circumnavigating the globe. But before following in the path which the ship of Magellan had thus far alone dared to pursue, Drake determined to explore the north-western coast of America, in the hope of discovering the strait which connects the oceans. With this view, he crossed the equator, sailed beyond the peninsula of California, and followed the continent to the latitude of forty-three degrees, corresponding to the latitude of the southern
1579. June. borders of New Hampshire.[2] Here the cold seemed intolerable to men who had just left the tropics. Despairing of success, he retired to a harbor in a milder latitude, within the limits of Mexico; and, having refitted his ship, and named the country New Albion, he sailed for England, through the seas of Asia. Thus was the southern part of the Oregon territory first visited by Englishmen, yet not till after a
1542. voyage of the Spanish from Acapulco, commanded by Cabrillo, a Portuguese, had traced the American continent to within two and a half degrees of the mouth
1593 of Columbia River;[3] while, thirteen years after the

1 On Frobisher, consult the original acccunts of Hall, Settle, Ellis, and Best, with R. Hakluyt's instructions, in Hak. iii. 52—129.

2 Course of Sir Francis Drake, Hak. iii. 524; Johnson's Life of Drake.

3 Forster's Northern Voyages b

voyage of Drake, John de Fuca, a mariner from the Isles of Greece, then in the employ of the viceroy of Mexico, sailed into the bay which is now known as the Gulf of Georgia, and, having for twenty days steered through its intricate windings and numerous islands, returned with a belief, that the entrance to the long-desired passage into the Atlantic had been found.[1] CHAP. III. 1593

The lustre of the name of Drake is borrowed from his success. In itself, this part of his career was but a splendid piracy against a nation with which his sovereign and his country professed to be at peace. Oxenham, a subordinate officer, who had ventured to imitate his master, was taken by the Spaniards and hanged; nor was his punishment either unexpected or censured in England as severe. The exploits of Drake, except so far as they nourished a love for maritime affairs, were injurious to commerce; the minds of the sailors were debauched by a passion for sudden acquisitions; and to receive regular wages seemed base and unmanly, when, at the easy peril of life, there was hope of boundless plunder. Commerce and colonization rest on regular industry; the humble labor of the English fishermen, who now frequented the Grand Bank, bred mariners for the navy of their country, and prepared the way for its settlements in the New World. Already four hundred vessels came annually from the harbors of Portugal and Spain, of France and England, to the shores of Newfoundland. The English were not there in such numbers as other nations, for they still frequented the fisheries of Iceland; but 1578

iii. c. iv. s. ii. Humboldt, Nouv Esp. ii. 436, 437. Compare Viage de las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana, 34. 36. 57.

[1] Purchas, iv 849—852. Forster is skeptical, b. iii. c. iv. s. iv Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 224—230.

CHAP. III. 1578. yet they "were commonly lords in the harbors," and in the arrogance of naval supremacy, exacted payment for protection.[1] It is an incident honorable to the humanity of the early voyagers, that, on one of the American islands, not far from the fishing stations, hogs and horned cattle were purposely left, that they might multiply and become a resource to some future generation of colonists.[2]

While the queen and her adventurers were dazzled by the glittering prospects of mines of gold in the frozen regions of the remote north, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a sounder judgment and a better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonization. He had been a soldier and a member of parliament. He was a judicious writer on navigation;[3] and though censured for his ignorance of the principles of liberty,[4] he was esteemed for the sincerity of his piety. He was one of those who alike despise fickleness and fear: danger never turned him aside from the pursuit of honor or the service of his sovereign; for he knew that death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal.[5] It was not difficult for

June 11. Gilbert to obtain a liberal patent,[6] formed according to commercial theories of that day, and to be of perpetual efficacy, if a plantation should be established within six years. To the people who might belong to his colony, the rights of Englishmen were promised; to Gilbert, the possession for himself or his assigns of the soil which he might discover, and the sole jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, of the territory within two

1 See the letter of Ant. Parkhurst, who had himself been for four years engaged in the Newfoundland trade, in Hakluyt, iii. 170—174.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 197.

3 Ibid. iii. 32—47.

4 D'Ewes's Journal, 168 and 175.

5 Gilbert, in Hakluyt, iii. 47.

6 The patent may be found in Hakluyt, iii. 174—176; Stith's Virginia, 4, 5, 6; Hazard, i. 24—28.

hundred leagues of his settlement, with supreme executive and legislative authority. Thus the attempts at colonization, in which Cabot and Frobisher had failed, were renewed under a patent that conferred every immunity on the leader of the enterprise, and abandoned the colonists themselves to the mercy of an absolute proprietary. CHAP III. 1578

Under this patent, Gilbert began to collect a company of volunteer adventurers, contributing largely from his own fortune to the preparation. Jarrings and divisions ensued, before the voyage was begun; many abandoned what they had inconsiderately undertaken; the general and a few of his assured friends—among them, perhaps, his step-brother, Walter Raleigh—put to sea: 1579
one of his ships was lost; and misfortune compelled the remainder to return.[1] The vagueness of the accounts of this expedition is ascribed to a conflict with a Spanish fleet, of which the issue was unfavorable to the little squadron of emigrants.[2] Gilbert attempted to keep his patent alive by making grants of lands. None of his assigns succeeded in establishing a colony; and he was himself too much impoverished to renew his efforts.

But the pupil of Coligny was possessed of an active genius, which delighted in hazardous adventure. To prosecute discoveries in the New World, lay the foundation of states, and acquire immense domains, appeared to the daring enterprise of Raleigh as easy designs, which would not interfere with the pursuit of favor and the career of glory in England. Before the limit of the charter had expired, Gilbert, assisted by his brother, equipped a new squadron. The fleet em- 1583
barked under happy omens; the commander, on the

1 Hayes, in Hakluyt, iii. 186. 2 Oldys, 28, 29. Tytler, 26, 27

CHAP III. 1583. eve of his departure, received from Elizabeth a golden anchor guided by a lady, a token of the queen's regard; a man of letters from Hungary accompanied the expedition; and some part of the United States would have then been colonized, had not the unhappy projector of the design been overwhelmed by a succession of disasters. June 13. Two days after leaving Plymouth, the largest ship in the fleet, which had been furnished by Raleigh, who himself remained in England, deserted, under a pretence of infectious disease, and returned into harbor. Gilbert was incensed, but not intimidated. He sailed Aug. 5. for Newfoundland; and, entering St. Johns, he summoned the Spaniards and Portuguese, and other strangers, to witness the feudal ceremonies by which he took possession of the country for his sovereign. A pillar, on which the arms of England were infixed, was raised as a monument; and lands were granted to the fishermen in fee, on condition of the payment of a quit-rent. The "mineral-man" of the expedition, an honest and religious Saxon, was especially diligent; it was generally agreed that "the mountains made a show of mineral substance;" the Saxon protested on his life that silver ore abounded; he was charged to keep the discovery a profound secret; and, as there were so many foreign vessels in the vicinity, the precious ore was carried on board the larger ship with such mystery, that the dull Portuguese and Spaniards suspected nothing of the matter.

It was not easy for Gilbert to preserve order in the little fleet. Many of the mariners, infected with the vices which at that time degraded their profession, were no better than pirates, and were perpetually bent upon pillaging whatever ships fell in their way. At length, having abandoned one of their barks, the

English, now in three vessels only, sailed on further discoveries, intending to visit the coast of the United States. But they had not proceeded towards the south beyond the latitude of Wiscasset, when the largest ship, from the carelessness of the crew, struck and was wrecked. Nearly a hundred men perished; the "mineral-man" and the ore were all lost; nor was it possible to rescue Parmenius, the Hungarian scholar, who should have been the historian of the expedition.

CHAP III. 1583

Aug. 27

It now seemed necessary to hasten to England. Gilbert had sailed in the Squirrel, a bark of ten tons only, and therefore convenient for entering harbors and approaching the coast. On the homeward voyage, the brave admiral would not forsake his little company, with whom he had encountered so many storms and perils. A desperate resolution! The weather was extremely rough; the oldest mariner had never seen "more outrageous seas." The little frigate, not more than twice as large as the long-boat of a merchantman, "too small a bark to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year," was nearly wrecked. The general, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to those in the Hind, "We are as neere to heaven by sea as by land." That same night, about twelve o'clock, the lights of the Squirrel suddenly disappeared; and neither the vessel, nor any of its crew, was ever again seen. The Hind reached Falmouth in safety.[1]

Sept. 22.

The bold spirit of Raleigh was not disheartened by the sad fate of his step-brother; but his mind revolved a settlement in a milder climate; and he was deter-

1584

[1] On Gilbert, see Hayes, in Hakluyt, iii. 184—203; Parmenius to Hakluyt, iii. 203—205; Clark's Relation, ibid. 206—208; Gilbert to Peckham, in Purchas, iii. 808; Raleigh to Gilbert, in Tytler's Raleigh, 45.

CHAP. III. 1584. Mar. 25. mined to secure to England those delightful countries from which the Protestants of France had been expelled. Having presented a memorial, he readily obtained from Elizabeth a patent[1] as ample as that which had been conferred on Gilbert. It was drawn according to the principles of feudal law, and with strict regard to the Christian faith, as professed in the church of England. Raleigh was constituted a lord proprietary, with almost unlimited powers; holding his territories by homage and an inconsiderable rent, and possessing jurisdiction over an extensive region, of which he had power to make grants according to his pleasure.

Expectations rose high, since the balmy regions of the south were now to be colonized; and the terrors of icy seas were forgotten in the hope of gaining a province in a clime of perpetual fertility, where winter hardly intruded to check the productiveness of nature. Two vessels, well laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Bar-
April 27. low, buoyant with hope, set sail for the New World. They pursued the circuitous route by the Canaries and the islands of the West Indies; after a short stay in those islands, they sailed for the north, and were soon
July 2. opposite the shores of Carolina. As they drew near land, the fragrance was "as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers." They ranged the coast for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbor; they entered the first haven which offered, and, after thanks to God for their
July 13. safe arrival, they landed to take possession of the country for the queen of England.

The spot on which this ceremony was performed,

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 297—301. Hazard, i. 33—38.

was in the Island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock Inlet. The shores of North Carolina, at some periods of the year, cannot safely be approached by a fleet, from the hurricanes which sweep the air in those regions, and against which the formation of the coast offers no secure roadsteads and harbors. But in the month of July, the sea was tranquil; the skies were clear; no storms were gathering; the air was agitated by none but the gentlest breezes; and the English commanders were in raptures with the beauty of the ocean, seen in the magnificence of repose, gemmed with islands, and expanding in the clearest transparency from cape to cape. The vegetation of that southern latitude struck the beholders with admiration; the trees had not their paragons in the world; the luxuriant vines, as they clambered up the loftiest cedars, formed graceful festoons; grapes were so plenty upon every little shrub, that the surge of the ocean, as it lazily rolled in upon the shore with the quiet winds of summer, dashed its spray upon the clusters; and natural arbors formed an impervious shade, that not a ray of the suns of July could penetrate. The forests were filled with birds; and, at the discharge of an arquebuss, whole flocks would arise, uttering a cry, which the many echoes redoubled, till it seemed as if an army of men had shouted together.

CHAP. III. 1584

The gentleness of the tawny inhabitants appeared in harmony with the loveliness of the scene. The desire of traffic overcame the timidity of the natives, and the English received a friendly welcome. On the Island of Roanoke, they were entertained by the wife of Granganimeo, father of Wingina, the king, with the refinements of Arcadian hospitality. "The people were most gentle, loving and faithful, void of all guile

CHAP. III. 1584

and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age." They had no cares but to guard against the moderate cold of a short winter, and to gather such food as the earth almost spontaneously produced. And yet it was added, with singular want of comparison, that the wars of these guileless men were cruel and bloody; that domestic dissensions had almost exterminated whole tribes; that they employed the basest stratagems against their enemies; and that the practice of inviting men to a feast, that they might be murdered in the hour of confidence, was not merely a device of European bigots, but was known to the natives of Secotan. The English, too, were solicited to engage in a similar enterprise, under promise of lucrative booty.

The adventurers were satisfied with observing the general aspect of the new world; no extensive examination of the coast was undertaken; Pamlico and Albemarle Sound and Roanoke Island were explored, and some information gathered by inquiries from the Indians; the commanders had not the courage or the activity to survey the country with exactness. Having made but a short stay in America, they arrived in September in the west of England, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries, as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among "the hundred islands" of North Carolina.[1] Elizabeth, as she heard their reports,

[1] Amidas and Barlow's account, in Hakluyt, iii. 301—307. I have compared, on this and the following voyages, Smith's Virginia, i. 80—85; Stith, 8—12; Tytler's Raleigh, 47—54; Oldys, 55; Birch, 580, 581; Cayley, i. 33—46; Thomson, 32, Williamson's North Carolina, i. 28—37; and Martin's North Carolina, i. 9—12. I have followed exclusively the contemporaneous account, deriving, in the comparison of local

esteemed her reign signalized by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia. CHAP. III. 1584

Nor was it long before Raleigh, elected to represent in parliament the county of Devon, obtained a bill confirming his patent of discovery;[1] and while he received the honor of knighthood, as the reward of his valor, he also acquired a lucrative monopoly of wines, which enabled him to continue with vigor his schemes of colonization.[2] The prospect of becoming the proprietary of a delightful territory, with a numerous tenantry, who should yield him not only a revenue, but allegiance, inflamed his ambition; and, as the English nation listened with credulity to the descriptions of Amidas and Barlow, it was not difficult to gather a numerous company of emigrants. While a new patent[3] was issued to his friend, for the discovery of the northwestern passage, and the well-known voyages of Davis, sustained, in part, by the contributions of Raleigh himself, were increasing the acquaintance of Europe with the Arctic sea, the plan of colonizing Virginia was earnestly and steadily pursued. Dec. 18.

The new expedition was composed of seven vessels, 1585 and carried one hundred and eight colonists to the shores of Carolina. Ralph Lane, a man of considerable distinction, and so much esteemed for his services as a soldier, that he was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, was willing to act for Raleigh as governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville, the most able and celebrated of Raleigh's associates, distinguished for bravery among the gallant spirits of a gallant age, assumed the command of the fleet. It sailed from Ply- Apr. 9.

ities, much benefit from a MS. in my possession, by J. S. Jones, of Shocco, North Carolina.

1 D'Ewes's Journal, 339. 341.
2 Tytler, 54, 55. Oldys, 58, 59.
3 Hakluyt, iii. 129—157.

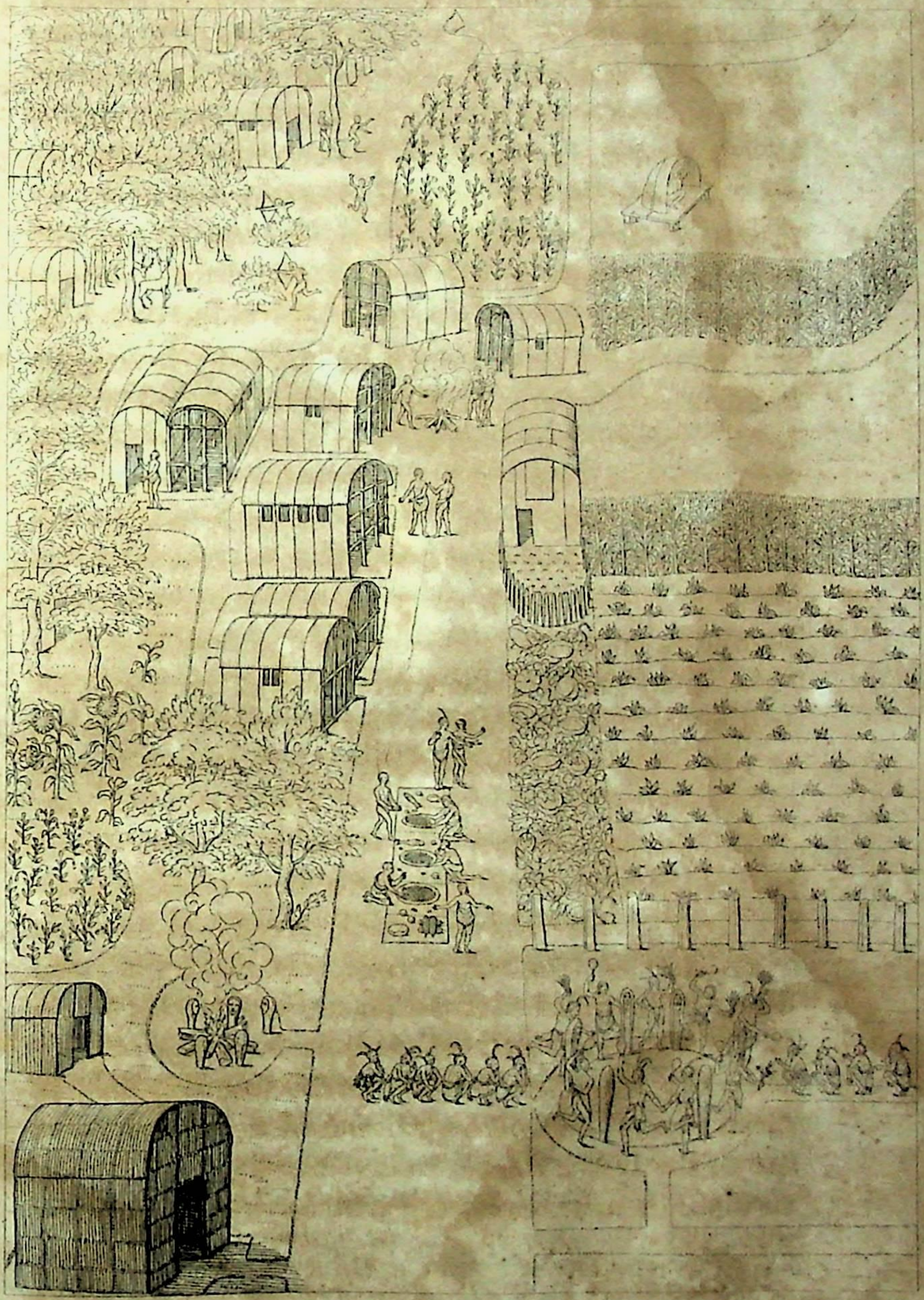
CHAP. III. 1585. mouth, accompanied by several men of merit, whom the world remembers;—by Cavendish, who soon after circumnavigated the globe; Hariot, the inventor of the ystem of notation in modern algebra,[1] the historian of the expedition; and With, an ingenious painter, whose sketches[2] of the natives, their habits and modes of life, were taken with beauty and exactness, and were the means of encouraging an interest in Virginia, by diffusing a knowledge of its productions.

To sail by the Canaries and the West Indies, to conduct a gainful commerce with the Spanish ports by intimidation; to capture Spanish vessels;—these were but the expected preliminaries of a voyage to Virginia.
June 20. At length the fleet fell in with the main land of
24. Florida; it was in great danger of being wrecked on the cape which was then first called the Cape of Fear;
26 and two days after it came to anchor at Wocoken. The perils of the navigation on the shoals of that coast became too evident; the largest ship of the squadron, as it entered the harbor, struck, but was not lost. It was through Ocracock Inlet that the fleet made its way to Roanoke.

But the fate of this colony was destined to be influenced by the character of the natives. Manteo, the friend of the English, and who returned with the fleet from a visit to England, was sent to the main to announce their arrival. Grenville, accompanied by Lane,
July 11 to 18. Hariot, Cavendish, and others, in an excursion of eight days, explored the coast as far as Secotan, and, as they relate, were well entertained of the savages. At one of the Indian towns, a silver cup had been stolen; its restoration was delayed; with hasty cruelty, Gren

1 Tytler, 66. Stith, 20. Playfair's Dissertation, p. i. s. i.

2 In De Bry, part ii. They are also imitated in Beverley's Virginia.



SECOTAN in 1585.

ville ordered the village to be burnt and the standing corn to be destroyed. Not long after this action of inconsiderate revenge, the ships, having landed the colony, sailed for England; a rich Spanish prize, made by Grenville on the return voyage, secured him a courteous welcome as he entered the harbor of Plymouth. The transport ships of the colony were at the same time privateers.[1]

CHAP. III. 1585 Aug 25.

The employments of Lane and his colonists, after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville, could be none other than to explore the country; and in a letter, which he wrote while his impressions were yet fresh, he expressed himself in language of enthusiastic admiration. "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory of the world; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome, that we have not one sick, since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."[2]

Sept. 3

The keenest observer was Hariot; and he was often employed in dealing with "the natural inhabitants." He carefully examined the productions of the country, those which would furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He observed the culture of tobacco; accustomed himself to its use, and was a firm believer in its healing virtues. The culture of maize, and the extraordinary productiveness of that grain, especially attracted his admiration; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food. The inhab-

1 The Voyage, in Hakluyt, iii. 307—310.

2 Lane, in Hakluyt, iii. 311.

CHAP. III. 1585

itants are described as too feeble to inspire terror, clothed in mantles and aprons of deer-skins; having no weapons but wooden swords and bows of witch-hazel with arrows of reeds; no armor but targets of bark and sticks wickered together with thread. Their towns were small; the largest containing but thirty dwellings. The walls of the houses were made of bark, fastened to stakes; and sometimes consisted of poles fixed upright, one by another, and at the top bent over and fastened; as arbors are sometimes made in gardens. But the great peculiarity of the Indians consisted in the want of political connection. A single town often constituted a government; a collection of ten or twenty wigwams was an independent state. The greatest chief in the whole country could not muster more than seven or eight hundred fighting men. The dialect of each government seemed a language by itself. The country which Hariot explored was on the boundary of the Algonquin race; where the Lenni Lenape tribes melted into the widely-differing nations of the south. The wars among themselves rarely led them to the open battle-field; they were accustomed rather to sudden surprises at daybreak or by moonlight, to ambushes and the subtle devices of cunning falsehood. Destitute of the arts, they yet displayed excellency of wit in all which they attempted. Nor were they entirely ignorant of religion; and to the credulity of fetichism they joined an undeveloped conception of the unity of the Divine Power. It is natural to the human mind to desire immortality; the natives of Carolina believed in continued existence after death, and in retributive justice. The mathematical instruments, the burning-glass, guns, clocks, and the use of letters, seemed the works of gods, rather than of men,

and the English were reverenced as the pupils and favorites of Heaven. In every town which Hariot entered, he displayed the Bible, and explained its truths; the Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrines; and, with a fond superstition, they embraced the book, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as if it had been an amulet. As the colonists enjoyed uniform health, and had no women with them, there were some among the Indians who imagined the English were not born of woman, and therefore not mortal; that they were men of an old generation, risen to immortality. The terrors of fire-arms the natives could neither comprehend nor resist; every sickness which now prevailed among them, was attributed to wounds from invisible bullets, discharged by unseen agents, with whom the air was supposed to be peopled. They prophesied, that "there were more of the English generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places;" and some believed, that the purpose of extermination was already matured, and its execution begun.[1]

CHAP. III. 1585

Was it strange, then, that the natives desired to be delivered from the presence of guests by whom they feared to be supplanted? The colonists were mad with the passion for gold; and a wily savage invented, respecting the River Roanoke and its banks, extravagant tales, which nothing but cupidity could have credited. The river, it was said, gushed forth from a rock, so near the Pacific Ocean, that the surge of the sea sometimes dashed into its fountain; its banks were inhabited by a nation skilled in the art of refining the rich ore in which the country abounded. The walls of the city were described as glittering from the abun-

1586 Mar

[1] Hariot, in Hakluyt, iii. 324—340.

CHAP. III. 1586. dance of pearls. Lane was so credulous, that he attempted to ascend the rapid current of the Roanoke; and his followers, infatuated with greedy avarice, would not return till their stores of provisions were exhausted, and they had killed and eaten the very dogs which bore them company. On this attempt to explore the interior, the English hardly advanced higher up the river than some point near the present village of Williamstown.

April. The Indians had hoped to destroy the English by thus dividing them; but the prompt return of Lane prevented open hostilities. They next conceived the plan of leaving their lands unplanted; and they were willing to abandon their fields, if famine would in consequence compel the departure of their too powerful guests. The suggestion was defeated by the moderation of one of their aged chiefs; but the feeling of
May enmity could not be restrained. The English believed that a wide conspiracy was preparing; that fear of a foreign enemy was now teaching the natives the necessity of union; and that a grand alliance was forming to destroy the strangers by a general massacre. Perhaps the English, whom avarice had certainly rendered credulous, were now precipitate in giving faith to the whispers of jealousy; it is certain that, in the contest of dissimulation, they proved themselves the more successful adepts. Desiring an audience of Wingina, the most active among the native chiefs, Lane and his
June 1. attendants were quickly admitted to his presence. No hostile intentions were displayed by the Indians; their reception of the English was proof of their confidence. Immediately a preconcerted watchword was given; and the Christians, falling upon the unhappy king and his principal followers, put them without mercy to death

CHAP III. 1586

It was evident that Lane did not possess the qualities suited to his station. He had not the sagacity which could rightly interpret the stories or the designs of the natives; and the courage, like the eye, of a soldier, differs from that of a traveller. His discoveries were inconsiderable: to the south they had extended only to Secotan, in the present county of Craven, between the Pamlico and the Neuse; to the north they reached no farther than the small River Elizabeth, which joins the Chesapeake Bay below Norfolk; in the interior, the Chowan had been examined beyond the junction of the Meherrin and the Nottaway; and we have seen, that the hope of gold attracted Lane to make a short excursion up the Roanoke. Yet some general results of importance were obtained. The climate was found to be salubrious; during the year not more than four men had died, and of these, three brought the seeds of their disease from Europe.[1] The hope of finding better harbors at the north was confirmed; and the Bay of Chesapeake was already regarded as the fit theatre for early colonization. But in the Island of Roanoke, the men began to despond; they looked in vain towards the ocean for supplies from England; they were sighing for the luxuries of the cities in their native land; when of a sudden it was rumored, that the sea was white with the sails of three-and-twenty ships; and within three days, Sir Francis Drake had anchored his fleet at sea outside of Roanoke Inlet, in "the wild road of their bad harbor." June 8.

He had come, on his way from the West Indies to England, to visit the domain of his friend. With the celerity of genius, he discovered the measures which the exigency of the case required, and supplied the

1 Hariot, in Hakluyt, iii. 340. True Declaration of Virginia, 32.

CHAP III. 1586. wants of Lane to the uttermost; giving him a bark of seventy tons, with pinnaces and small boats, and all needed provisions for the colony. Above all, he induced two experienced sea-captains to remain and employ themselves in the action of discovery. Every thing was furnished to complete the surveys along the coast and the rivers, and, in the last resort, if suffering became extreme, to reconvey the emigrants to England.

At this time, an unwonted storm suddenly arose, and had nearly wrecked the fleet, which lay in a most dangerous position, and which had no security but in weighing anchor and standing away from the shore. When the tempest was over, nothing could be found of the boats and the bark, which had been set apart for the colony. The humanity of Drake was not weary; he instantly devised measures for supplying the colony with the means of continuing their discoveries; but Lane shared the despondency of his men; and Drake yielded to their unanimous desire of permission to embark in his ships for England. Thus
June 19. ended the first actual settlement of the English in America. The exiles of a year had grown familiar with the favorite amusement of the lethargic Indians; and they introduced into England the general use of tobacco.[1]

The return of Lane was a precipitate desertion; a little delay would have furnished the colony with ample supplies. A few days after its departure, a ship arrived, laden with all stores needed by the infant settlement.

1 On the settlement, see Lane in Hakluyt, iii. 311—322, the original account. The reader may compare Camden, in Kennett, ii. 509, 510; Stith, 12—21; Smith, i. 86—99; Belknap i. 213—216; Williamson, i. 37—51; Martin, i. 12—24; Tytler, 56—68; Thomson, c. i. and ii. and Appendix B.; Oldys, c. 65—71; Cayley, i. 46—81; Birch, 582. 584.

It had been despatched by Raleigh; but finding "the paradise of the world" deserted, it could only return to England. Another fortnight had hardly elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well-furnished ships, and renewed the vain search for the departed colony. Unwilling that the English should lose possession of the country, he left fifteen men on the Island of Roanoke, to be the guardians of English rights.[1]

CHAP. III. 1586

Raleigh was not dismayed by ill success, nor borne down by losses. The enthusiasm of the people of England was diminished by the reports of the unsuccessful company of Lane; but the decisive testimony of Hariot to the excellence of the country still rendered it easy to collect a new colony for America. The wisdom of Raleigh was particularly displayed in the policy which he now adopted. He determined to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should at once make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, he granted a charter of incorporation for the settlement, and established a municipal government for "the city of Raleigh." John White was appointed its governor; and to him, with eleven assistants, the administration of the colony was intrusted. A fleet of transport ships was prepared at the expense of the proprietary; "Queen Elizabeth, the godmother of Virginia," declined contributing "to its education." The company, as it embarked, was cheered by the presence of women; and an ample provision of the implements of husbandry gave a pledge for successful industry. In July, they arrived on the coast of North

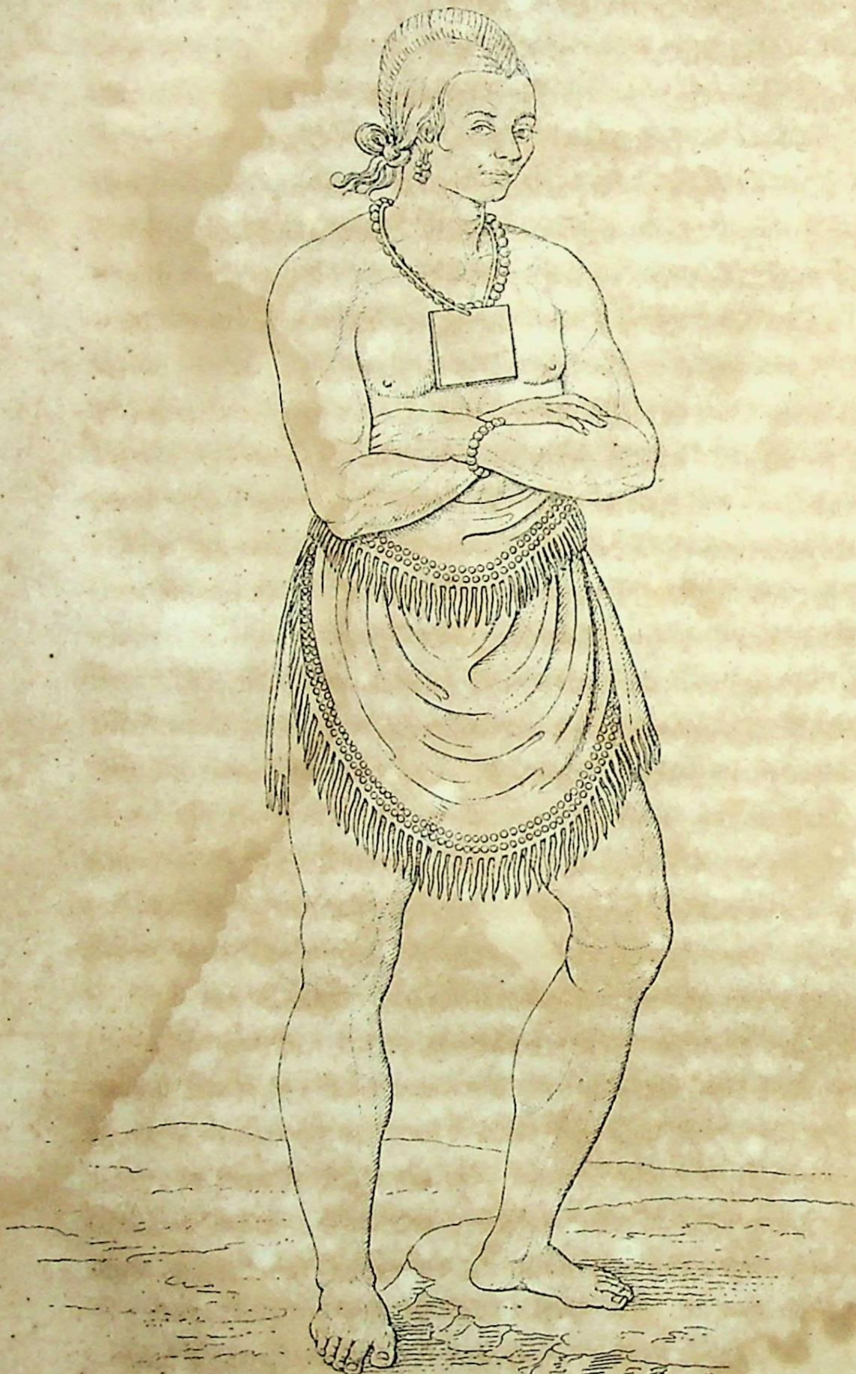
1587 — Jan 7. — April 26.

[1] Hakluyt, iii. 323. Stith, 22, and Belknap, i. 217, say fifty men, erroneously. Smith, i. 99, began the error.

CHAP. III. 1587. Carolina; they were saved from the dangers of Cape Fear; and, passing Cape Hatteras, they hastened to the Isle of Roanoke, to search for the handful of men whom Grenville had left there as a garrison. They found the tenements deserted and overgrown with weeds; human bones lay scattered on the field; wild deer were reposing in the untenanted houses, and were feeding on the productions which a rank vegetation still forced from the gardens. The fort was in ruins. No vestige of surviving life appeared. The miserable men whom Grenville had left, had been murdered by the Indians.

The instructions of Raleigh had designated the place for the new settlement on the Bay of the Chesapeake. It marks but little union, that Fernando, the naval officer, eager to renew a profitable traffic in the West Indies, refused his assistance in exploring the coast, and White was compelled to remain on Roanoke. The fort of Governor Lane, "with sundry decent dwelling-houses," had been built at the northern extremity of the island; it was there that the foundations
July 23. of the city of Raleigh were laid. The Island of Roanoke is now almost uninhabited; commerce has selected securer harbors for its pursuits; the intrepid pilot and the hardy "wrecker," rendered adventurously daring by their familiarity with the dangers of the coast, and in their natures wild as the storms to which their skill bids defiance, unconscious of the associations by which they are surrounded, are the only tenants of the spot where the inquisitive stranger may yet discern the ruins of the fort, round which the cottages of the new settlement were erected.

July 28. But disasters thickened. A tribe of savages displayed implacable jealousy, and murdered one of the



A CHIEF OF ROANOKE.

assistants. The mother and the kindred of Manteo welcomed the English to the Island of Croatan; and a mutual friendship was continued. But even this alliance was not unclouded. A detachment of the English, discovering a company of the natives whom they esteemed their enemies, fell upon them by night, as the harmless men were sitting fearlessly by their fires; and the havoc was begun, before it was perceived that these were friendly Indians.

CHAP III. 1587

Aug. 13.

The vanities of life were not forgotten in the New World; and Manteo, the faithful Indian chief, "by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh," received Christian baptism, and was invested with the rank of a feudal baron, as the Lord of Roanoke. It was the first peerage erected by the English in America, and remained a solitary dignity, till Locke and Shaftesbury suggested the establishment of palatinates in Carolina, and Manteo shared his honors with the admired philosopher of his age.

As the time for the departure of the ship for England drew near, the emigrants became gloomy with apprehensions; they were conscious of their dependence on Europe; and they, with one voice, women as well as men, urged the governor to return and use his vigorous intercession for the prompt despatch of reinforcements and supplies. It was in vain that he pleaded a sense of honor, which called upon him to remain and share in person the perils of the colony, which he was appointed to govern. He was forced to yield to the general importunity.

Aug 18.

Yet, previous to his departure, his daughter, Eleanor Dare, the wife of one of the assistants, gave birth to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States. The infant was named

CHAP. III. 1587. from the place of its birth. The colony, now composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children, whose names are all preserved, might reasonably hope for the speedy return of the governor, who, Aug. 27. as he sailed for England, left with them, as hostages, his daughter and his grandchild, VIRGINIA DARE.

And yet even those ties were insufficient. The colony received no seasonable relief; and the further history of this neglected plantation is involved in gloomy uncertainty. The inhabitants of "the city of Raleigh," the emigrants from England and the first-born of America, failed, like their predecessors, in establishing an enduring settlement; but, unlike their predecessors, they awaited death in the land of their adoption. If America had no English town, it soon had English graves.[1]

For when White reached England, he found its whole attention absorbed by the threats of an invasion from Spain; and Grenville, Raleigh, and Lane, not less than Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins, were engaged in planning measures of resistance. Yet Raleigh, whose patriotism did not diminish his generosity, found means to despatch White with supplies 1588. April 22. in two vessels. But the company, desiring a gainful voyage rather than a safe one, ran in chase of prizes; till, at last, one of them fell in with men-of-war from Rochelle, and, after a bloody fight, was boarded and rifled. Both ships were compelled to return immediately to England, to the ruin of the colony and the displeasure of its author.[2] The delay was fatal; the independence of the English kingdom, and the security

[1] The original account of White, in Hakluyt, iii. 340—348. The story is repeated by Smith, Stith, Keith, Burk, Belknap, Williamson, Martin, Thomson, Tytler, and others.

[2] Hakluyt, edition 1589, 771 quoted in Oldys, 98, 99.

of the Protestant reformation, were in danger; nor could the poor colonists of Roanoke be again remembered, till after the discomfiture of the Invincible Armada. CHAP. III. 1588

Even when complete success against the Spanish fleet had crowned the arms of England, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had already incurred a fruitless expense of forty thousand pounds, found himself unable to continue the attempts at colonizing Virginia. Yet he did not despair of ultimate success; he admired the invincible constancy which would bury the remembrance of past dangers in the glory of annexing fertile provinces to his country; and as his fortune did not permit him to renew his exertions, he used the privilege of his patent to form a company of merchants and adventurers, who were endowed by his liberality with large concessions, and who, it was hoped, would replenish Virginia with settlers. Among the men who thus obtained an assignment of the proprietary's rights in Virginia, is found the name of Richard Hakluyt; it is the connecting link between the first efforts of England in North Carolina and the final colonization of Virginia. The colonists at Roanoke had emigrated with a charter; the new instrument[1] was not an assignment of 1589 Mar. 7 Raleigh's patent, but extended a grant, already held under its sanction, by increasing the number to whom the rights of that charter belonged.

Yet the enterprise of the adventurers languished, for it was no longer encouraged by the profuse liberality of Raleigh. More than another year elapsed, before 1590 White[2] could return to search for his colony and his daughter; and then the Island of Roanoke was a

1 Hazard, i. 42—45.
2 White, in Hakluyt, iii. 348, 349, and 350—357

CHAP. III. 1590. desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan; but the season of the year and the dangers from storms were pleaded as an excuse for an immediate return. Had the emigrants already perished? or had they escaped with their lives to Croatan, and, through the friendship of Manteo, become familiar with the Indians? The conjecture has been hazarded,[1] that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. This was the tradition of the natives at a later day, and was thought to be confirmed by the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and the Indian race seemed to have been blended. Raleigh long cherished the hope of discovering some vestiges of their existence and though he had abandoned the design of colonizing Virginia, he yet sent at his own charge, and, it is said, at five several times,[2] to search for his liege-men. But it was all in vain; imagination received no help in its attempts to trace the fate of the colony of Roanoke.

The name of Raleigh stands highest among the statesmen of England, who advanced the colonization of the United States; and his fame belongs to American history. No Englishman of his age possessed so various or so extraordinary qualities. Courage which was never daunted, mild self-possession, and fertility of invention, insured him glory in his profession of arms; and his services in the conquest of Cadiz, or the capture of Fayal, were alone sufficient to establish his fame as a gallant and successful commander. In every danger, his life was distinguished by valor, and his death was ennobled by true magnanimity.

1 Lawson's N. Carolina, 62. 2 Purchas, iv. 1653.

He was not only admirable in active life as a soldier; he was an accomplished scholar. No statesman in retirement ever expressed the charms of tranquil leisure more beautifully than Raleigh; and it was not entirely with the language of grateful friendship, that Spenser described his "sweet verse as sprinkled with nectar," and rivaling the melodies of "the summer's nightingale."[1] When an unjust verdict, contrary to probability and the evidence, "against law and against equity," on a charge which seems to have been a pure invention, left him to languish for years in prison, with the sentence of death suspended over his head, his active genius plunged into the depths of erudition; and he who had been a soldier, a courtier, and a seaman, now became the elaborate author of a learned History of the World.

His career as a statesman was honorable to the pupil of Coligny and the contemporary of L'Hopital. In his public policy, he was thoroughly an English patriot; jealous of the honor, the prosperity, and the advancement of his country; the inexorable antagonist of the pretensions of Spain. In parliament, he defended the freedom of domestic industry. When, by the operation of unequal laws, taxation was a burden upon industry rather than wealth, he argued for a change:[2] himself possessed of a lucrative monopoly, he gave his voice for the repeal of all monopolies;[3] and, while he pertinaciously used his influence with his sovereign to mitigate the severity of the judgments against the nonconformists,[4] as a legislator he resisted the sweeping enactment of persecuting laws.[5]

1 Sonnet prefixed to Faery Queen. Faery Queen, b. iii. Int. st. iv. Compare, also, Spenser's Colin Clout's come home again, verses 68—75, and Faery Queen, b. iii. c. vii. st. 36—41.

2 Tytler, 238, 239.

3 D'Ewes, 646. Tytler, 239.

4 Oldys, 137—139.

5 Thomson, 55. Oldys, 165, 166. D'Ewes, 517. Tytler, 122.

In the career of discovery, his perseverance was never baffled by losses. He joined in the risks of Gilbert's expedition; contributed to the discoveries of Davis in the north-west; and himself personally explored "the insular regions and broken world" of Guiana. The sincerity of his belief in the wealth of the latter country has been unreasonably questioned. If Elizabeth had hoped for a hyperborean Peru in the arctic seas of America, why might not Raleigh expect to find the city of gold on the banks of the Oronoco? His lavish efforts in colonizing the soil of our republic, his sagacity which enjoined a settlement within the Chesapeake Bay, the publications of Hariot and Hakluyt which he countenanced, if followed by losses to himself, diffused over England a knowledge of America, as well as an interest in its destinies, and sowed the seeds, of which the fruits were to ripen during his lifetime, though not for him.

Raleigh had suffered from palsy[1] before his last expedition. He returned broken-hearted by the defeat of his hopes, by the decay of his health, and by the death of his eldest son. What shall be said of King James, who would open to an aged paralytic no other hope of liberty but through success in the discovery of mines in Guiana? What shall be said of a monarch who could, at that time, under a sentence which was originally unjust,[2] and which had slumbered for fifteen years, order the execution of the decrepit man, whose genius and valor shone brilliantly through the ravages

[1] Thomson, Appendix, note U. The original document.

[2] Hume, Rapin, Lingard, are less favorable to Raleigh. Even Hallam, i. 482—484, vindicates him with wavering boldness. A careful comparison of the accounts of these historians, the trial, and the biographies of Raleigh, proves him to have been, on his trial, a victim of jealousy, and entirely innocent of crime. No doubt he despised King James. See Tytler, 285—290.

of physical decay, and whose English heart, within a palsied frame, still beat with an undying love for his country? CHAP. III.

The judgments of the tribunals of the Old World are often reversed by public opinion in the New. The family of the chief author of early colonization in the United States was reduced to beggary by the government of England, and he himself was beheaded. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the state of North Carolina, by a solemn act of legislation, revived in its capital "THE CITY OF RALEIGH;" thus expressing its grateful respect for the memory of the extraordinary man, who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual. 1792 Laws of N. Carolina, for 1792, c. xiv

The enthusiasm of Raleigh pervaded his countrymen. Imagination already saw beyond the Atlantic a people whose mother idiom should be the language of England. "Who knows," exclaimed Daniel, the poet laureate of that kingdom—

> "Who in time knows whither we may vent
> The treasures of our tongue? To what strange shores
> This gain of our best glory shall be sent
> T' enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
> What worlds, in th' yet unformed Occident,
> May 'come refined with th' accents that are ours?"

Daniel, in Musophilus.

Already the fishing of Newfoundland was vaunted as the stay of the west countries. Some traffic may have continued with Virginia. Thus were men trained for the career of discovery; and in 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold, who, perhaps, had already sailed to Virginia, in the usual route, by the Canaries and West Indies, conceiving the idea of a direct voyage to America, with the concurrence of Raleigh, had well nigh secured to New England the honor of the first permanent English colony. Steering, in a small bark, directly across the Atlantic, in seven weeks he reached the 1593 D'Ewes Journal, 509. 1602 Mar. 26.

CHAP. III. continent of America in the Bay of Massachusetts, not far to the north of Nahant.[1] He failed to observe a 1602. May 14. good harbor, and, standing for the south, discovered the promontory which he called Cape Cod—a name which would not yield to that of the next monarch of England. Here he and four of his men landed; Cape Cod was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, May 24. they again landed on a little island, now called No Man's land, and afterwards passed round the promontory of Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff. At length they entered Buzzard's Bay—a stately sound, which they called Gosnold's Hope. The westernmost of the islands was named Elizabeth, from the queen—a name which has been transferred to the whole group. Here they beheld the rank vegetation of a virgin soil; the noble forests; the wild fruits and the flowers, bursting from the earth; the eglantine, the thorn, and the honeysuckle, the wild pea, the tansy, and young sassafras; strawberries, raspberries, grape-vines, all in profusion. There is on the island a pond, and within it lies a rocky islet; this was the position which the adventurers selected for their residence. Here they built their storehouse and their fort; and here the foundations of the first New England colony were to be laid. The natural features remain unchanged; the island, the pond, the islet, are all yet visible; the forests are gone; the shrubs are as luxuriant as of old; but the ruins of the fort can no longer be discerned.

A traffic with the natives on the main land, soon enabled Gosnold to complete his freight, which consisted chiefly of sassafras root, then greatly esteemed in pharmacy as a sovereign panacea. The little

1 Belknap's Biog ii. 103. Williamson's Maine, i. 184, 185.

band, which was to have nestled on the Elizabeth Islands, finding their friends about to embark for Europe, despaired of obtaining seasonable supplies of food, and determined not to remain. Fear of an assault from the Indians, who had ceased to be friendly, the want of provisions, and jealousy respecting the distribution of the risks and profits, defeated the design. The whole party soon set sail and bore for England. The return voyage lasted but five weeks; and the expedition was completed in less than four months, during which entire health had prevailed.[1]

CHAP. III. 1602

June 18.

Gosnold and his companions spread the most favorable reports of the regions which he had visited. Could it be that the voyage was so safe, the climate so pleasant, the country so inviting? The merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh,[2] and at the instance of Richard Hakluyt, the enlightened friend and able documentary historian of these commercial enterprises, a man whose fame should be vindicated and asserted in the land which he helped to colonize, determined to pursue the career of investigation. The Speedwell, a small ship of fifty tons and thirty men, the Discoverer, a bark of twenty-six tons and thirteen men, under the command of Martin Pring, set sail for America a few days after the death of the queen. It was a private undertaking, and therefore not retarded by that event. The ship was well provided with trinkets and merchandise, suited to a traffic with the natives; and this voyage also was successful. It reached the American coast among the

1603. April 10.

1 Gosnold to his father, in Purchas, iv. 1646. Archer's Relation, ibid. iv. 1647—1651. Rosier's Notes, ibid. iv. 1651—1653. Brierton's Relation, in Smith, i. 105—108. Compare, particularly, Belknap's Life of Gosnold, in Am. Biog. ii. 100—123.

2 Purchas, iv. 1614.

CHAP. III. islands which skirt the harbors of Maine. The mouth of the Penobscot offered good anchorage and fishing Pring made a discovery of the eastern rivers and harbors—the Saco, the Kennebunk, and the York; and the channel of the Piscataqua was examined for three or four leagues. Meeting no sassafras, he steered for the south; doubled Cape Ann; and went on shore in Massachusetts; but, being still unsuccessful, he again pursued a southerly track, and finally anchored in Old Town harbor, on Martha's Vineyard. The whole absence lasted about six months, and was completed
1606. without disaster or danger.[1] Pring, a few years later, repeated his voyage, and made a more accurate survey of Maine.

Enterprises for discovery were now continuous. Bartholomew Gilbert,[2] returning from the West Indies, made an unavailing search for the colony of Raleigh. It was the last attempt to trace the remains of those unfortunate men. But as the testimony of Pring had confirmed the reports of Gosnold, the career of navi-
1605. gation was vigorously pursued. An expedition, promoted by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, of Wardour, and commanded by George Weymouth, who, in attempting a north-west passage, had already explored the coast of Labrador, now discovered the Penobscot River. Weymouth left England in March, and, in about six weeks, came in sight of the American continent near Cape Cod. Turning to the north, he approached the coast of Maine, and ascended the western branch of the Penobscot beyond Belfast Bay; where the deep channel of the broad stream, the abundance of its spacious harbors, the neighboring

1 Purchas, iv. 1654—1656. Compare Belknap, ii. 123—133; Williamson's Maine, i. p. 185—187

2 Purchas, iv. 1656—1658.

springs and copious rivulets, compelled the experienced mariner to admire the noble river, which is just now beginning to have upon its banks and in its ports the flourishing settlements and active commerce that it is by nature so well adapted to sustain. Five natives were decoyed on board the ship, and Weymouth, returning to England, gave three of them to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a friend of Raleigh, and governor of Plymouth.[1]

CHAP III. 1605

Such were the voyages which led the way to the colonization of the United States. The daring and skill of these earliest adventurers upon the ocean deserve the highest admiration. The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic were new, and it required the greater courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers, exceedingly great. The ships at first employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons burthen; Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a deck; and so perilous were the voyages deemed, that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, to perform solemn acts of devotion, as if to prepare for eternity. The anticipation of disasters was not visionary; Columbus was shipwrecked twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilized world;

1 Rosier's Virginian Voyage, &c. in Purchas, iv. 1659—1667. Gorges, Brief Narration, c. ii. Compare Belknap's Am. Biog. ii. 134—150; Williamson's Maine, i. 191—195. Strange with what reckless confidence Oldmixon, i. 219, 220, can blunder!

Hudson was turned adrift in a small boat by a crew whom suffering had rendered mutinous; Willoughby perished with cold; Roberval, Parmenius, Gilbert,—and how many others?—went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation, that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favor of Heaven.

CHAPTER IV.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA

CHAP IV. 1606

The period of success in planting colonies in Virginia had arrived; yet not till changes had occurred, affecting the character of European politics and society, and moulding the forms of colonization. The reformation had interrupted the harmony of religious opinion in the west of Europe; and differences in the church began to constitute the basis of political parties. Commercial intercourse equally sustained a revolution. It had been conducted on the narrow seas and by land; it now launched out upon the broadest waters; and, after the East Indies had been reached by doubling the southern promontory of Africa, the great commerce of the world was performed upon the ocean. The art of printing had become known; and the press diffused intelligence and multiplied the facilities of instruction. The feudal institutions which had been reared in the middle ages, were already undermined by the current of time and events, and, swaying from their base, threatened to fall. Productive industry had, on the one side, built up the fortunes and extended the influence of the active classes; while habits of indolence and of expense had impaired the estates and diminished the power of the nobility. These changes also produced corresponding results in the institutions which were to rise in America.

CHAP IV. 1606

A revolution had equally occurred in the purposes for which voyages were undertaken. The hope of Columbus, as he sailed to the west, had been the discovery of a new passage to the East Indies. The passion for rapidly amassing gold soon became the prevailing motive. Next, the islands and countries near the equator were made the tropical gardens of the Europeans for the culture of such luxuries as the warmest regions only can produce. At last, the higher design was matured, not to plunder, nor to destroy, nor to enslave; but to found states, to plant permanent Christian colonies, to establish for the oppressed and the enterprising places of refuge and abode, with all the elements of independent national existence.

The condition of England favored adventure in America. A redundant population had existed even before the peace with Spain;[1] and the timid character of King James, throwing out of employment the gallant men who had served under Elizabeth by sea and land, left them no option, but to engage as mercenaries in the quarrels of strangers, or incur the hazards of "seeking a New World."[2] The minds of many persons of intelligence, rank, and enterprise, were directed to Virginia. The brave and ingenious Gosnold, who had himself witnessed the fertility of the western soil, long solicited the concurrence of his friends for the establishment of a colony,[3] and at last prevailed with Edward Maria Wingfield, a groveling merchant of the west of England, Robert Hunt, a clergyman of persevering fortitude and modest worth, and John Smith, the adventurer of rare genius and undying fame, to consent to risk their own lives and

1 Bacon on Queen Elizabeth.
2 Gorges' Brief Narration, c. ii.
3 Edmund Howes' Continuation of Stowe, 1018—a prime authority on Virginia. See Stith, 229.

their hope of fortune in an expedition.[1] For more than a year, this little company revolved the project of a plantation. At the same time, Sir Ferdinand Gorges was gathering information of the native Americans, whom he had received from Weymouth, and whose descriptions of the country, joined to the favorable views which he had already imbibed, filled him with the strongest desire of becoming a proprietary of domains beyond the Atlantic. Gorges was a man of wealth, of rank, and of influence; he readily persuaded Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, to share his intentions.[2] Nor had the assigns of Raleigh become indifferent to "western planting;" the most distinguished of them all, Richard Hakluyt, the historian of maritime enterprise, still favored the establishment of a colony by his personal exertions and the firm enthusiasm of his character. Possessed of whatever information could be derived from foreign sources and a correspondence with the eminent navigators of his times, and anxiously watching the progress of the attempts of Englishmen in the west, his extensive knowledge made him a counsellor in the enterprises which were attempted, and sustained in him and his associates the confidence which repeated disappointments did not exhaust.[3] Thus the cause of colonization obtained in England zealous and able defenders, who, independent of any party in religion or politics, believed that a prosperous state could be established by Englishmen in the temperate regions of North America

CHAP IV. 1606

1 Smith, i. 149, or Purchas, iv. 1705. Stith, 35. Compare Hillard's Life of Smith, in Sparks's American Biography, ii. 177—407; also Belknap, i. 239, 252.

2 Gorges, c. ii.—v.

3 Hakluyt, iii. passim; v. Dedication of Virginia Valued. The first Virginia charter contains his name

CHAP. IV. 1606. The king of England, too timid to be active, yet too vain to be indifferent, favored the design of enlarging his dominions. He had attempted in Scotland the introduction of the arts of life among the Highlanders and the Western Isles, by the establishment of colonies;[1] and the English plantations which he formed in the northern counties of Ireland, are said to have contributed to the affluence and the security of that island.[2] When, therefore, a company of men of business and men of rank, formed by the experience of Gosnold, the enthusiasm of Smith, the perseverance of Hakluyt, the hopes of profit and the extensive influence of Popham and Gorges,[3] applied to James I. for leave "to deduce a colony into Virginia," the monarch promoted the
April 10. noble work by readily issuing an ample patent.

The first colonial charter,[4] under which the English were planted in America, deserves careful consideration. A belt of twelve degrees on the American coast, embracing the soil from Cape Fear to Halifax, excepting perhaps the little spot in Acadia then actually possessed by the French, was set apart to be colonized by two rival companies. Of these, the first was composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, in and about London; the second, of knights, gentlemen, and merchants, in the west. The London adventurers, who alone succeeded, had an exclusive right to occupy the regions from thirty-four to thirty-eight degrees of north latitude, that is, from Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland; the western men had

1 Robertson's Scotland, b. viii.

2 Leland's History of Ireland, ii. 204—213. Lord Bacon's speech as Chancellor to the Speaker, Works, iii. 405.

3 Gorges, c. v. and vi.

4 See the charter, in Hazard, i. 51—58; Stith's Appendix, 1—8 Hening's Statutes of Virginia at large, i. 57—66. In referring to this collection, I cannot but add, that no other state in the Union possesses so excellent a work on its legislative history.

CHAP IV. 1606

equally an exclusive right to plant between forty-one and forty-five degrees. The intermediate district, from thirty-eight to forty-one degrees, was open to the competition of both companies. Yet collision was not possible; for each was to possess the soil extending fifty miles north and south of its first settlement; so that neither could plant within one hundred miles of a colony of its rival. The conditions of tenure were homage and rent; the rent was no other than one fifth of the net produce of gold and silver, and one fifteenth of copper. The right of coining money was conceded, perhaps to facilitate commerce with the natives, who, it was hoped, would receive Christianity and the arts of civilized life. The superintendence of the whole colonial system was confided to a council in England; the local administration of each colony was intrusted to a council residing within its limits. The members of the superior council in England were appointed exclusively by the king; and the tenure of their office was his good pleasure. Over the colonial councils the king likewise preserved a control; for the members of them were from time to time to be ordained, made, and removed, according to royal instructions. Supreme legislative authority over the colonies, extending alike to their general condition and the most minute regulations, was likewise expressly reserved to the monarch. A hope was also cherished of an ultimate revenue to be derived from Virginia; a duty, to be levied on vessels trading to its harbors, was, for one-and-twenty years, to be wholly employed for the benefit of the plantation, at the end of that time, was to be taken for the king. To the emigrants it was promised, that they and their children should continue to be Englishmen—a concession which secured them rights on re-

CHAP. IV. 1606 turning to England, but offered no barrier against colonial injustice. Lands were to be held by the most favorable tenure.

Thus the first written charter of a permanent American colony, which was to be the chosen abode of liberty, gave to the mercantile corporation nothing but a desert territory, with the right of peopling and defending it, and reserved to the monarch absolute legislative authority, the control of all appointments, and a hope of an ultimate revenue. To the emigrants themselves it conceded not one elective franchise, not one of the rights of self-government. They were subjected to the ordinances of a commercial corporation, of which they could not be members; to the dominion of a domestic council, in appointing which they had no voice; to the control of a superior council in England, which had no sympathies with their rights; and finally, to the arbitrary legislation of the sovereign. Yet, bad as was this system, the reservation of power to the king, a result of his vanity, rather than of his ambition, had, at least, the advantage of mitigating the action of the commercial corporation. The check would have been complete, had the powers of appointment and legislation been given to the people of Virginia.[1]

The summer was spent by the patentees in preparations for planting a colony, for which the vain glory of the king found a grateful occupation in framing a
Nov 20. code of laws;[2] an exercise of royal legislation which has been pronounced in itself illegal.[3] The superior council in England was permitted to name the colonial council, which was constituted a pure aristocracy,

1 Compare Chalmers, 13—15; Story on the Constitution, i. 22—24. Virginia, 37—41; Burk's Virginia, i. 86—92.

2 See the instrument, in Hening, i. 67—75. Compare, also, Stith's

3 Chalmers, 15.

entirely independent of the emigrants whom they were to govern; having power to elect or remove its president, to remove any of its members, and to supply its own vacancies. Not an element of popular liberty was introduced into the form of government. Religion was specially enjoined to be established according to the doctrine and rites of the church of England; and no emigrant might withdraw his allegiance from King James, or avow dissent from the royal creed. Lands were to descend according to the common law. Not only murder, manslaughter, and adultery, but dangerous tumults and seditions were punishable by death; so that the security of life depended on the discretion of the magistrate, restricted only by the necessity of a trial by jury. All civil causes, requiring corporal punishment, fine or imprisonment, might be summarily determined by the president and council; who also possessed full legislative authority in cases not affecting life or limb. Kindness to the savages was enjoined, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. It was further, and most unwisely, though probably at the request of the corporation, ordered, that the industry and commerce of the respective colonies should for five years, at least, be conducted in a joint stock. The king also reserved to himself the right of future legislation.

CHAP IV. 1606

Thus were the political forms of the colony established, when, on the nineteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand six hundred and six, one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the American continent by Cabot, forty-one years from the settlement of Florida, the little squadron of three vessels, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons

CHAP. IV. burthen,[1] bearing one hundred and five men, destined to remain, set sail for a harbor in Virginia.

The voyage began under inauspicious omens. Of the one hundred and five, on the list of emigrants, there were but twelve laborers, and very few mechanics.[2] They were going to a wilderness, in which, as yet, not a house was standing; and there were forty-eight gentlemen to four carpenters. Neither were there any men with families. It was evident, a commercial and not a colonial establishment was designed by the projectors. Dissensions sprung up during the voyage; as the names and instructions of the council had, by the folly of James, been carefully concealed in a box, which was not to be opened till after the arrival in Virginia, no competent authority existed to check the progress of envy and disorder.[3] The genius of Smith excited jealousy; and hope, the only power
1607 which can still the clamors and allay the feuds of the selfish, early deserted the colonists.

Newport, who commanded the ships, was acquainted with the old passage, and, consuming the whole of the early spring in a navigation which should have been completed in February, sailed by way of the Canaries and the West India Islands. As he turned to the north, a severe storm carried his fleet beyond the settlement of Raleigh, into the magnificent Bay of
April 26. the Chesapeake.[4] The head-lands received and retain the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charles, from the sons of King James; the deep water for anchorage, "putting the emigrants in good Comfort," gave a name to the Northern Point; and within the capes a country

1 Smith's Virginia, i. 150.

2 See the names in Smith, i. 153, and in Purchas, iv. 1706.

3 Smith, i. 150. Chalmers, 17.

4 Smith, i. 150. Stith, 44.

opened, which appeared to the emigrants to "claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world." Hope revived for a season, as they advanced. "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation."[1] A noble river was soon entered, which was named from the monarch; and, after a search of seventeen days, during which they encountered the hostility of one little savage tribe, and at Hampton smoked the calumet of peace with another, the peninsula of Jamestown, about fifty miles above the mouth of the stream, was selected for the site of the colony.

CHAP IV. 1607

May 13.

Thus admirable was the country. The emigrants themselves were weakened by divisions, and degraded by jealousy. So soon as the members of the council were duly constituted, they proceeded to choose Wingfield president; and then, as by their instructions they had power to do, they excluded Smith from their body, on a charge of sedition. But as his only offence consisted in the possession of enviable qualities, the attempt at his trial was abandoned,[2] and by "the good doctrine and exhortation" of the sincere Hunt, the man without whose aid the vices of the colony would have caused its immediate ruin, was soon restored to his station.[3]

While the men were busy in felling timber and providing freight for the ships, Newport and Smith and twenty others ascended the James River to the falls. They visited the native chieftain Powhatan, who has been styled "the emperor of the country," at his principal seat, just below the falls of the river at Richmond.

1 Smith, i. 114. Stith, 45.
2 Smith, i. 151. Stith, 45.
3 Stith, 47. Smith, i. 152 153

CHAP. IV. 1607. The imperial residence was a village of twelve wigwams! The savages murmured at the intrusion of strangers into the country; but Powhatan disguised his fear, and would only say, "They hurt you not; they take but a little waste land."[1]

About the middle of June, Newport set sail for England. What condition could be more pitiable, than that of the English whom he had left in Virginia? The proud hopes which the beauty of the country had excited, soon vanished; and as the delusion passed away, they awoke and beheld that they were in the wilderness. Weak in numbers, and still weaker from want of habits of industry, they were surrounded by natives whose hostility and distrust had already been displayed; the summer heats were intolerable to their laborers; the moisture of the climate generated disease; and the fertility of the soil, covered with a rank luxuriance of forest, increased the toil of culture. Their scanty provisions had become spoiled on the long voyage. "Our drink," say they, "was unwholesome water; our lodgings, castles in the air: had we been as free from all sins as from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints." Despair of mind ensued; so that, in less than a fortnight after the departure of the fleet, "hardly ten of them were able to stand;" the labor of completing some simple fortifications was exhausting; and no regular crops could be planted. During the summer, there were not, on any occasion, five able men to guard the bulwarks; the fort was filled in every corner with the groans of the sick, whose outcries, night and day, for six weeks, rent the hearts of those who could minister no relief. Many times, three or four died in

[1] Percy, in Purchas, iv. 1689.

CHAP. IV. 1607 Aug. 22

a night; in the morning, their bodies were trailed out of the cabins, like dogs, to be buried. Fifty men, one half of the colony, perished before autumn; among them Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the settlement, a man of rare merits, worthy of a perpetual memory in the plantation,[1] and whose influence had alone thus far preserved some degree of harmony in the council.[2]

Disunion completed the scene of misery. It became necessary to depose Wingfield, the avaricious president, who was charged with engrossing the choicest stores, and who was on the point of abandoning the colony and escaping to the West Indies. Ratcliffe, the new president, possessed neither judgment nor industry; so that the management of affairs fell into the hands of Smith, whose deliberate enterprise and cheerful courage alone diffused light amidst the general gloom. He possessed by nature the buoyant spirit of heroic daring. In boyhood he had sighed for the opportunity of "setting out on brave adventures;" and though not yet thirty years of age, he was already a veteran in the service of humanity and of Christendom. His early life had been given to the cause of freedom in the Low Countries, where he had fought for the independence of the Batavian Republic. Again, as a traveller, he had roamed over France; had visited the shores of Egypt; had returned to Italy; and, panting for glory, had sought the borders of Hungary, where there had long existed an hereditary warfare with the followers of Mahomet. It was there that the young English cavalier distinguished himself by the bravest feats of arms, in the sight of Christians and infidels,

1 Edmund Howes, 1018.

2 Smith, i. 154. Percy, in Purchas, iv. 1690. Smith and Percy were both eye-witnesses.

CHAP. IV. engaging fearlessly and always successfully in the single combat with the Turks, which, from the days of the crusades, had been warranted by the rules of chivalry. His signal prowess gained for him the favor of Sigismund Bathori, the unfortunate prince of Transylvania. 1602. Nov 18. At length he, with many others, was overpowered in a sudden skirmish among the glens of Wallachia, and was left severely wounded in the field of battle. A prisoner of war, he was now, according to the Eastern custom, offered for sale "like a beast in a market-place," and was sent to Constantinople as a slave. A Turkish lady had compassion on his misfortunes and his youth, and, designing to restore him to freedom, removed him to a fortress in the Crimea. Contrary to her commands, he was there subjected to the harshest usage among half-savage serfs. Rising against his taskmaster, whom he slew in the struggle, he mounted a horse, and through forest paths escaped from thraldom to the confines of Russia. Again the hand of woman relieved his wants; he travelled across the country to Transylvania, and, there bidding farewell to his com panions in arms, he resolved to return "to his own sweet country." But, as he crossed the continent, he heard the rumors of civil war in Northern Africa, and hastened, in search of untried dangers, to the realms of Morocco. At length returning to England, his mind did not so much share as appropriate to itself the general enthusiasm for planting states in America;
1607. and now the infant commonwealth of Virginia depended for its existence on his firmness. His experience in human nature under all its forms, and the cheering vigor of his resolute will, made him equal to his duty. He inspired the natives with awe, and quelled the spirit of anarchy and rebellion among the emigrants

He was more wakeful to gather provisions than the covetous to find gold; and strove to keep the country more than the faint-hearted to abandon it. As autumn approached, the Indians, from the superfluity of their harvest, made a voluntary offering; and supplies were also collected by expeditions into the interior. But the conspiracies, that were still formed, to desert the settlement, first by the selfish Wingfield, and again by the imbecile Ratcliffe, could be defeated only after a skirmish, in which one of the leaders was killed; and the danger of a precipitate abandonment of Virginia continued to be imminent, till the approach of winter, when not only the homeward navigation became perilous, but the fear of famine was removed by the abundance of wild fowl and game.[1] Nothing then remained but to examine the country.

The South Sea was considered the ocean path to every kind of wealth. The coast of America on the Pacific had been explored by the Spaniards, and had been visited by Drake; the collections of Hakluyt had communicated to the English the results of their voyages; and the maps of that day exhibited a tolerably accurate delineation of the continent of North America. With singular ignorance of the progress of geographical knowledge, it had been expressly enjoined on the colonists to seek a communication with the South Sea by ascending some stream which flowed from the northwest.[2] The Chickahominy was such a stream. Smith, though he did not share the ignorance of his employers, was ever willing to engage in discoveries. Leaving the colonists to enjoy the abundance which winter had brought, he not only ascended the river as fa

1 Smith, i. 1—54, and 154, 155. Purchas, iv. 1690. Stith, 48.
2 Stith, 43.

CHAP. IV. 1607-8

as he could advance in boats, but struck into the interior. His companions disobeyed his instructions, and, being surprised by the Indians, were put to death. Smith himself, who, in the plains of the Crimea and of Southern Russia, had become acquainted with the superstitions and the manners of wandering tribes, did not beg for life, but preserved it by the calmness of self-possession. Displaying a pocket compass, he amused the savages by an explanation of its powers, and increased their admiration of his superior genius, by imparting to them some vague conceptions of the form of the earth and the nature of the planetary system. To the Indians, who retained him as their prisoner, his captivity was a more strange event than any thing of which the traditions of their tribes preserved the memory. He was allowed to send a letter to the fort at Jamestown; and the savage wonder was increased; for he seemed, by some magic, to endow the paper with the gift of intelligence. The curiosity of all the clans of the neighborhood was awakened by the prisoner; he was conducted in triumph from the settlements on the Chickahominy to the Indian villages on the Rappahannock and the Potomac; and thence, through other towns, to the residence of Opechancanough, at Pamunkey. There, for the space of three days, they practised incantations and ceremonies, in the hope of obtaining some insight into the mystery of his character and his designs. It was evident that he was a being of a higher order: was his nature beneficent, or was he to be dreaded as a dangerous enemy? Their minds were bewildered, as they beheld his calm fearlessness; and they sedulously observed towards him the utmost reverence and hospitality, as if to propitiate his power, should he be rescued from their

hands. The decision of his fate was referred to Powhatan, who was then residing in what is now Gloucester county, on York River, at a village to which Smith was conducted through the regions, now so celebrated, where the youthful Lafayette hovered upon the skirts of Cornwallis, and the arms of France and the Confederacy were united to achieve the crowning victory of American independence. The passion of vanity rules in forests as well as in cities; the grim warriors, as they met in council, displayed their gayest apparel before the Englishman, whose doom they had assembled to pronounce. The fears of the feeble aborigines were about to prevail, and his immediate death, already repeatedly threatened and repeatedly delayed, would have been inevitable, but for the timely intercession of Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, a girl "of tenne" or "twelve" "years old, which not only for feature, countenance, and expression, much exceeded any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit, was the only nonpareil of the country." The gentle feelings of humanity are the same in every race, and in every period of life; they bloom, though unconsciously, even in the bosom of a child. Smith had easily won the confiding fondness of the Indian maiden; and now the impulse of mercy awakened within her breast; she clung firmly to his neck, as his head was bowed to receive the strokes of the tomahawk. Did the childlike superstition of her kindred reverence her interference as a token from a superior power? Her fearlessness and her entreaties persuaded the council to spare the agreeable stranger, who might make hatchets for her father, and rattles and strings of beads for herself, the favorite child. The barbarians, whose decision had long been held in suspense by the mysterious awe

CHAP. IV. 1608

which Smith had inspired, now resolved to receive him as a friend, and to make him a partner of their councils. They tempted him to join their bands, and lend assistance in an attack upon the white men at Jamestown; and when his decision of character succeeded in changing the current of their thoughts, they dismissed him with mutual promises of friendship and benevolence. Thus the captivity of Smith did itself become a benefit to the colony; for he had not only observed with care the country between the James and the Potomac, and had gained some knowledge of the language and manners of the natives, but he now established a peaceful intercourse between the English and the tribes of Powhatan; and, with her companions, the child who had rescued him from death, afterwards came every few days to the fort with baskets of corn for the garrison.[1]

Returning to Jamestown, Smith found the colony reduced to forty men; and of these, the strongest were again preparing to escape with the pinnace. This third attempt at desertion he repressed at the hazard of his life.[2] Thus passed the first few months of colonial existence in discord and misery; despair relieved and ruin prevented, by the fortitude of one man, and the benevolence of an Indian girl.

Meantime, the council in England, having received an increase of its numbers and its powers, determined to send out new recruits and supplies; and Newport had hardly returned from his first voyage, before he was again despatched with one hundred and twenty

1 Smith, i. 158—162, and ii. 29—33. The account is fully contained in the oldest book printed on Virginia, in our Cambridge library. It is a thin quarto, in black letter, by John Smith, printed in 1608—"A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note, as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne."

2 Smith, i. 163, 164.

emigrants. Yet the joy in Virginia on their arrival was of short continuance; for the new comers were chiefly vagabond gentlemen and goldsmiths, who, in spite of the remonstrances of Smith, gave a wrong direction to the industry of the colony. They believed they had discovered grains of gold in a glittering earth which abounded near Jamestown; and "there was now no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." The refiners were enamored of their skill; Martin, one of the council, promised himself honors in England as the discoverer of a mine; and Newport, having made an unnecessary stay of fourteen weeks, and having, in defiance of the assurances of Powhatan, expected to find the Pacific just beyond the falls in James River, believed himself immeasurably rich, as he embarked for England with a freight of worthless earth.[1]

CHAP. IV. 1608

Disgusted at the follies which he had vainly opposed, Smith undertook the perilous and honorable office of exploring the vast Bay of the Chesapeake, and the numerous rivers which are its tributaries. Two voyages, made in an open boat, with a few companions, over whom his superior courage, rather than his station as a magistrate, gave him authority, occupied him about three months of the summer, and embraced a navigation of nearly three thousand miles.[2] The slenderness of his means has been contrasted with the dignity and utility of his discoveries, and his name has been placed in the highest rank with the distinguished men who have enlarged the bounds of geographical knowledge, and opened the way by their investigations for colonies and commerce. He surveyed the Bay of the Chesapeake to the Susquehannah, and left only the

[1] Smith, i. 165—172.

[2] Smith, i. 173—192, ii. 100

CHAP. IV. 1608. borders of that remote river to remain for some years longer the fabled dwelling-place of a giant progeny.[1] He was the first to make known to the English the fame of the Mohawks, "who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats, and many men," and, as it seemed to the feebler Algonquin tribes, "made war upon all the world;" in the Chesapeake Bay he encountered a little fleet of their canoes.[2] The Patapsco was discovered and explored, and Smith probably entered the harbor of Baltimore.[3] The majestic Potomac, which at its mouth is seven miles broad, especially invited curiosity; and passing beyond the heights of Vernon and the city of Washington, he ascended to the falls above Georgetown.[4] Nor did he merely explore the rivers and inlets. He penetrated the territories, established friendly relations with the native tribes, and laid the foundation for future beneficial intercourse. The map[5] which he prepared and sent to the company in London,[6] is still extant, and delineates correctly the great outlines of nature. The expedition was worthy the romantic age of American history.

Sept 10. Three days after his return, Smith was made president of the council. Order and industry began to be diffused by his energetic administration, when Newport, with a second supply, entered the river. About seventy new emigrants arrived; two of them, it merits notice, were females. The angry covetousness of a greedy but disappointed corporation was now fully displayed. As if their command could transmute minerals, narrow the continent, and awaken the dead,

1 Burk, i. 123.
2 Smith, i. 181—183.
3 Stith, 64.
4 Compare Smith, i. 177, with Stith, 65, and Smith's map.
5 In the Richmond edition, opposite page 149; in Purchas, iv., opposite page 1691.
6 Smith's letter, in Hist. i 202.

they demanded a lump of gold, or a certain passage to the South Sea, or, a feigned humanity added, one of the lost company, sent by Sir Walter Raleigh.[1] The charge of the voyage was two thousand pounds; unless the ships should return full freighted with commodities, corresponding in value to the costs of the adventure, the colonists were threatened, that "they should be left in Virginia as banished men."[2] Neither had experience taught the company to engage suitable persons for Virginia. "When you send again," Smith was obliged to write, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have." CHAP IV.

After the departure of the ships, Smith employed his authority to enforce industry. Six hours in the day were spent in work; the rest might be given to pastime. The gentlemen had been taught the use of the axe, and had become accomplished woodcutters. "He who would not work, might not eat;" and Jamestown assumed the appearance of a regular place of abode. Yet so little land had been cultivated—not more than thirty or forty acres in all—that it was still necessary for Englishmen to solicit food from the indolent Indians; and Europeans, to preserve themselves from starving, were billeted among the sons of the forest. Thus the season passed away; of two hundred in the colony, not more than seven died.[3] 1609

The golden anticipations of the London company had not been realized. But the cause of failure appeared in the policy, which had grasped at sudden

1 Smith, i. 192, 193.

2 Smith's letter, in History, i. 200 201; also, Smith's advertisements fo the unexperienced, in iii Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 10.

3 Smith, i. 202, 222—229.

CHAP. IV. 1609. emoluments;[1] the enthusiasm of the English seemed exalted by the train of misfortunes; and more vast and honorable plans[2] were conceived, which were to be effected by more numerous and opulent associates Not only were the limits of the colony extended, the company was enlarged by the subscriptions of many of the nobility and gentry of England, and of the tradesmen of London; and the name of the powerful Cecil, the inveterate enemy and successful rival of Raleigh, appears at the head of those,[3] who were to carry into execution the vast design to which Raleigh, now a close prisoner in the tower, had first awakened the attention of his countrymen. At the request of the corporation, which was become a very powerful body, without any regard to the rights or wishes of those who had already emigrated under the sanction of existing laws, the constitution of Virginia was radically changed. May 23.

The new charter[4] transferred to the company the powers which had before been reserved to the king. The supreme council in England was now to be chosen by the stockholders themselves, and, in the exercise of the powers of legislation and government, was independent of the monarch. The governor in Virginia might rule the colonists with uncontrolled authority, according to the tenor of the instructions and laws established by the council, or, in want of them, according to his own good discretion, even in cases capital and criminal, not less than civil; and, in the event of mutiny or rebellion, he might declare martial law, being himself the judge of the necessity of the measure,

1 Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 10—12.

2 Hakluyt's Dedication of Virginia richly valued, v.

3 Hening, i. 81—88.

4 In Hening, Stith, and Hazard, ii.

and the executive officer in its administration. Thus the lives, liberty and fortune of the colonists were placed at the arbitrary will of a governor who was to be appointed by a commercial corporation. As yet not one valuable civil privilege was conceded to the emigrants.[1]

CHAP. IV.

1609

Splendid as were the auspices of the new charter, unlimited as were the powers of the patentees, the next events in the colony were still more disastrous. Lord De La Ware,[2] distinguished for his virtues, as well as rank, received the appointment of governor and captain-general for life; an avarice which would listen to no possibility of defeat, and which already dreamed of a flourishing empire in America, surrounded him with stately officers, suited by their titles and nominal charges to the dignity of an opulent kingdom.[3] The condition of the public mind favored colonization; swarms of people desired to be transported; and the adventurers, with cheerful alacrity, contributed free will offerings.[4] The widely-diffused enthusiasm soon enabled the company to despatch a fleet of nine vessels, containing more than five hundred emigrants. The admiral of the fleet was Newport, who, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was authorized to administer the affairs of the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware.[5]

The three commissioners had embarked on board the same ship.[6] When near the coast of Virginia, a hurricane[7] separated the admiral from the rest of his fleet; and his vessel was stranded on the rocks of the Ber-

1 Chalmers, 25.

2 Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, enlarged by Th. Park, ii. 180—183.

3 Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 11, and Smith, ii. 106.

4 True Declaration of Virginia, published by the Council of Virginia, in 1610, p. 59—a leading authority.

5 Smith, i. 233, 234; or Purchas, iv. 1729.

6 True Declaration, 19 and 21.

7 Archer's letter, in Purchas, iv.,

CHAP. IV. mudas. A small ketch perished; and[1] seven ships only arrived in Virginia.

1609. A new dilemma ensued. The old charter was abrogated; and, as there was in the settlement no one who had any authority from the new patentees, anarchy seemed at hand. The emigrants of the last arrival were dissolute gallants, packed off to escape worse lestinies at home,[2] broken tradesmen, gentlemen impoverished in spirit and fortune; rakes and libertines, men more fitted to corrupt than to found a commonwealth. It was not the will of God that the new state should be formed of these materials; that such men should be the fathers of a progeny, born on the American soil, who were one day to assert American liberty by their eloquence, and defend it by their valor. Hopeless as the determination appeared, Smith resolutely maintained his authority over the unruly herd, and devised new expeditions and new settlements, to furnish them occupation and support. At last, an accidental explosion of gunpowder disabled him, by inflicting wounds which the surgical skill of Virginia could not relieve.[3] Delegating his authority to Percy, he embarked for England. Extreme suffering from his wounds and the ingratitude of his employers were the fruits of his services. He received, for his sacrifices and his perilous exertions, not one foot of land, not the house he himself had built, not the field his own hands had planted, nor any reward but the applause of his conscience and the world.[4] He was the Father of Virginia, the true leader who first planted the Saxon race within the borders of the United States. His

1733, 1734. Secretary Strachy's account, in Purchas, iv. 1735—1738. True Declaration of Virginia, 21—26.

1 Smith, i. 234.

2 Ibid. i. 235. Stith, 103.

3 Smith, i. 239.

4 Smith, ii. 102. Virginia's Verger, in Purchas, iv. 1815

judgment had ever been clear in the midst of general despondency. He united the highest spirit of adventure with consummate powers of action. His courage and self-possession accomplished what others esteemed desperate. Fruitful in expedients, he was prompt in execution. Though he had been harassed by the persecutions of malignant envy, he never revived the memory of the faults of his enemies. He was accustomed to lead, not to send his men to danger; would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay.[1] He had nothing counterfeit in his nature, but was open, honest, and sincere. He clearly discerned, that it was the true interest of England not to seek in Virginia for gold and sudden wealth, but to enforce regular industry. "Nothing," said he, "is to be expected thence, but by labor."[2]

CHAP. IV. 1609

The colonists, no longer controlled by an acknowledged authority, were soon abandoned to improvident idleness. Their ample stock of provisions was rapidly consumed; and further supplies were refused by the Indians, whose friendship had been due to the personal influence of Smith, and who now regarded the English with a fatal contempt. Stragglers from the town were cut off; parties, which begged food in the Indian cabins, were deliberately murdered; and plans were laid to starve and destroy the whole company. The horrors of famine ensued; while a band of about thirty, seizing on a ship, escaped to become pirates, and to plead their desperate necessity as an excuse for their crimes.[3] Smith, at his departure, had left more than

1 Smith, i. 241. It is hardly necessary to add, that much of Smith's Generall Historie is a compilation of the works of others. Compare Belknap, i. 303, 304.

2 Answers in Smith, ii. 106.

3 True Declaration, 35—39. Compare Stith, 116, 117; Smith, ii. 2.

CHAP. IV. four hundred and ninety persons in the colony,[1] in six months, indolence, vice, and famine, reduced the number to sixty; and these were so feeble and dejected, that, if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they also must have utterly perished.[2]

1610. Sir Thomas Gates and the passengers, whose ship had been wrecked on the rocks of the Bermudas, had reached the shore without the loss of a life. The liberal fertility of the uninhabited island, teeming with natural products, for nine months sustained them in affluence. From the cedars which they felled, and the wrecks of their old ship, they, with admirable perseverance, constructed two vessels, in which they now embarked for Virginia,[3] in the hope of a happy welcome to the abundance of a prosperous colony. May 24. How great, then, was their horror, as they came among the scenes of death and misery, of which the gloom was increased by the prospect of continued scarcity! Four pinnaces remained in the river; nor could the extremity of distress listen to any other course, than to sail for Newfoundland, and seek safety by dispersing the company among the ships of English fishermen.[4] June 7. The colonists—such is human nature—desired to burn the town in which they had been so wretched, and the exercise of their infantile vengeance was prevented only by the energy of Gates,[5] who was himself the last to desert the settlement. "None dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness." They fell June 8. down the stream with the tide; but, the next morning, as they drew near the mouth of the river, they encountered the long-boat of Lord Delaware, who had

[1] Smith, i. 240.
[2] Purchas, iv. 1732 and 1766. Stith, 117. True Declaration, 47, or Smith, ii. 4, says four days.
[3] True Declaration of Virginia 23—26.
[4] Ibid. 43, 44.
[5] Ibid. 45. Smith, ii. 3.

arrived on the coast with emigrants and supplies. CHAP IV
The fugitives bore up the helm, and, favored by the
wind, were that night once more at the fort in James- 1610
town.[1]

It was on the tenth day of June, that the restauration of the colony was solemnly begun by supplications to God. A deep sense of the infinite mercies of his providence overawed the colonists who had been spared by famine, the emigrants who had been shipwrecked and yet preserved, and the new comers who found wretchedness and want, where they had expected the contentment of abundance. The firmness of their resolution repelled despair. "It is," said they, "the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan."[2] Dangers avoided inspire trust in Providence. "Doubt not," said the emigrants to the people of England, "God will raise our state and build his church in this excellent clime." After solemn exercises of religion, Lord Delaware caused his commission to be read; a consultation was immediately held on the good of the colony; and its government was organized with mildness but decision. The evils of faction were healed by the unity of the administration, and the dignity and virtues of the governor; and the colonists, excited by mutual emulation, performed their tasks with alacrity. At the beginning of the day, they assembled in the little church, which was kept neatly trimmed with the wild flowers of the country;[3] next, they returned to their houses to receive their allowance of food. The settled hours of labor were from six in the morning till ten, and from two in the

1 True Declaration, 45, 46.
2 Ibid. 48.
3 Purchas, iv. 1753.

CHAP. IV. 1610. afternoon till four. The houses were warm and secure, covered above with strong boards, and matted on the inside after the fashion of the Indian wigwams. Security and affluence were returning. But the health of Lord Delaware sunk under the cares of his situation and the diseases of the climate; and, after a lingering sickness, he was compelled to leave the administration with Percy, and return to England.[1] The colony, at this time, consisted of about two hundred men; but the departure of the governor was a disastrous event, which produced not only despondency at Jamestown, but "a damp of coldness" in the hearts of the London company; and a great reaction in the popular mind in England. In the age when the theatre was the chief place of public amusement and resort, Virginia was introduced by the stage-poets as a theme of scorn and derision.[2] "This plantation," complained they of Jamestown, "has undergone the reproofs of the base world; our own brethren laugh us to scorne; and papists and players, the scum and dregs of the earth, mocke such as help to build up the walls of Jerusalem."[3]

1611 Fortunately, the adventurers, before the ill success of Lord Delaware was known, had despatched Sir Thomas Dale, "a worthy and experienced soldier in the Low Countries," with liberal supplies. He arrived May 10. safely in the colony, and assumed the government, which he soon afterwards administered upon the basis of martial law. The code, written in blood, and printed and sent to Virginia by the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, on his own authority, and without the

[1] The New Life of Virginia, 1612, republished in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 199—223, and by P. Force, 1835. The Relation of Lord De la Warre, printed in 1611, is before me.

[2] Epistle Dedicatorie to the New Life of Virginia. In Force, p. 4.

[3] For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martial. London, 1612.

order or assent of the company, was chiefly a translation from the rules of war of the United Provinces. The Episcopal Church, coeval in Virginia with the settlement of Jamestown, was, like the infant commonwealth, subjected to military rule; and, though conformity was not strictly enforced, yet courts-martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, and infidelity with death. The introduction of this arbitrary system excited no indignation in the colonists, who had never obtained any franchises, and no surprise in the adventurers in England, who regarded the Virginians as the garrison of a distant citadel, more than as citizens and freemen. The charter of the London company[1] had invested the governor with full authority, in cases of rebellion and mutiny, to exercise martial law; and, in the condition of the settlement, this seemed a sufficient warrant for making it the law of the land.

CHAP IV. 161

The letters of Dale to the council confessed the small number and weakness of the colonists; but he kindled hope in the hearts of those constant adventurers, who, in the greatest disasters, had never fainted. "If any thing otherwise than well betide me," said he, "let me commend unto your carefulness the pursuit and dignity of this business, than which your purses and endeavors will never open nor travel in a more meritorious enterprise. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil."[2] Lord Delaware and Sir Thomas Gates earnestly confirmed what Dale had written, and, without any delay, Gates,

1 See the charter, sec. xxiv. Compare Smith, ii. 10, 11; Stith, 122, 123, and 293; Purchas, iv. 1767.

2 New Life of Virginia, ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 207.

CHAP. IV. 1611 who has the honor, to all posterity, of being the first named in the original patent for Virginia, conducted to the New World six ships, with three hundred emigrants. Long afterwards the gratitude of Virginia to these early emigrants was shown by repeated acts of benevolent legislation. A wise liberality sent also a hundred kine, as well as suitable provisions. It was the most fortunate step which had been taken, and proved the wisdom of Cecil, and others, whose firmness had prevailed.

The promptness of this relief merits admiration. In May, Dale had written from Virginia, and the last Aug. of August, the new recruits, under Gates, were already at Jamestown. So unlooked for was this supply, that, at their approach, they were regarded with fear as a hostile fleet. Who can describe the joy which ensued, when they were found to be friends? Gates assumed the government amidst the thanksgivings of the colony, and at once endeavored to employ the sentiment of religious gratitude as a foundation of order and of laws. "Lord bless England, our sweet native country," was the morning and evening prayer of the grateful emigrants.[1] The colony now numbered seven hundred men; and Dale, with the consent of Gates, went far up the river to found the new plantation, which, in honor of Prince Henry, a general favorite with the English people, was named Henrico; and there, on the remote frontier, Alexander Whitaker, the self-denying "apostle of Virginia," assisted in "bearing the name of God to the gentiles." But the greatest change in the condition of the colonists, resulted from the incipient establishment of private property. To each man a few acres of ground were assigned for his orchard and garden

[1] Praier said morning and evening, in Lawes Divine, &c. p. 92.

to plant at his pleasure and for his own use. So long as industry had been without its special reward, reluctant labor, wasteful of time, had been followed by want. Henceforward, the sanctity of private property was recognized as the surest guaranty of order and abundance. Yet the rights of the Indians were little respected; nor did the English disdain to appropriate by conquest, the soil, the cabins, and the granaries of the tribe of the Appomattocks. CHAP IV. 1611

While the colony was advancing in strength and happiness, the third patent for Virginia granted to the adventurers in England the Bermudas and all islands within three hundred leagues of the Virginia shore—a concession of no ultimate importance in American history, since the new acquisitions were soon transferred to a separate company. But the most remarkable change effected in the charter, a change which contained within itself the germ of another revolution, consisted in giving to the corporation a democratic form. Hitherto all power had resided in the council; which, it is true, was to have its vacancies supplied by the majority of the corporation. But now it was ordered, that weekly or even more frequent meetings of the whole company, might be convened for the transaction of affairs of less weight; while all questions respecting government, commerce, and the disposition of lands, should be reserved for the four great and general courts, at which all officers were to be elected, and all laws established. The political rights of the colonists themselves remained unimproved; the character of the corporation was entirely changed: power was transferred from the council to the company, and its sessions became the theatre of bold and independent discussion. A perverse financial privilege was, at the 1612 March 12.

CHAP. IV. same time, conceded; and lotteries, though unusual in England, were authorized for the benefit of the colony. The lotteries produced to the company twenty-nine thousand pounds; but, as they were esteemed a grievance by the nation, so they were, after a few
1621. Mar. years, noticed by parliament as a public evil, and, in consequence of the complaint of the commons, were suspended by an order of council.

1612 If the new charter enlarged the powers of the company, the progress of the colony confirmed its stability. Tribes even of the Indians submitted to the English, and, by a formal treaty, declared themselves the tributaries of King James. A marriage was the immediate cause of this change of relations.

A foraging party of the colonists, headed by Argall, having stolen the daughter of Powhatan, demanded of her father a ransom. The indignant chief prepared
1613 rather for hostilities. But John Rolfe, "an honest and discreet" young Englishman, an amiable enthusiast, who had emigrated to the forests of Virginia, daily, hourly, and, as it were, in his very sleep, heard a voice crying in his ears, that he should strive to make her a Christian. With the solicitude of a troubled soul, he reflected on the true end of being. "The Holy Spirit"—such are his own expressions—"demanded of me why I was created;" and conscience whispered that, rising above "the censure of the low-minded," he should lead the blind in the right path. Yet still he remembered that God had visited the sons of Levi and Israel with his displeasure, because they sanctified strange women; and might he, indeed, unite himself with "one of barbarous breeding and of a cursed race?" After a great struggle of mind, and daily and believing prayers, in the innocence of pious zeal, he resolved "to labor for the conversion of the unregene-

rated maiden;" and, winning the favor of Pocahontas, CHAP IV.
he desired her in marriage. Quick of comprehension,
the youthful princess received instruction with docility; 1613
and soon, in the little church of Jamestown,—which rested on rough pine columns, fresh from the forest, and was in a style of rugged architecture as wild, if not as frail, as an Indian's wigwam,—she stood before the font, that out of the trunk of a tree "had been hewn hollow like a canoe," "openly renounced her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized." "The gaining of this one soul," "the first fruits of Virginian conversion," was followed by her nuptials with Rolfe. In April, 1613, to the joy of Sir Thomas Dale, with the approbation of her father and friends, Opachisco, her uncle, gave the bride away; and she stammered before the altar her marriage vows, according to the rites of the English service.

Every historian of Virginia commemorates the union with approbation; distinguished men trace from it their descent. In 1616, the Indian wife, instructed in the English language, and bearing an English name,
"the first Christian ever of her nation," sailed with her 1616
husband for England. The daughter of the wilderness possessed the mild elements of female loveliness, half concealed, as if in the bud, and rendered the more beautiful by the childlike simplicity with which her education in the savannahs of the New World had invested her. How could she fail to be caressed at court, and admired in the city? As a wife, and as a young mother, her conduct was exemplary. She had been able to contrast the magnificence of European life with the freedom of the western forests; and now, as she was preparing to return to America, at the age of
twenty-two, she fell a victim to the English climate,— 1617
saved, as if by the hand of mercy, from beholding the

CHAP. IV. extermination of the tribes from which she sprung, leaving a spotless name, and dwelling in memory under the form of perpetual youth.

The immediate fruits of the marriage to the colony were a confirmed peace, not with Powhatan alone, but also with the powerful Chickahominies, who sought the friendship of the English, and demanded to be called Englishmen. It might have seemed that the European and the native races were about to become blended; yet no such result ensued. The English and the Indians remained at variance, and the weakest gradually disappeared.

1613. The colony seemed firmly established; and its governor asserted for the English the sole right of colonizing the coast to the latitude of forty-five degrees. In 1613, sailing in an armed vessel, as a protector to the fishermen off the coast of Maine, Samuel Argall, a young sea-captain, of coarse passions and arbitrary temper, discovered that the French were just planting a colony near the Penobscot, on Mount Desert Isle; and, hastening to the spot, after cannonading the intrenchments, and a sharp discharge of musketry, he gained possession of the infant hamlet of St. Sauveur. The cross round which the faithful had gathered, was thrown down; and the cottages, and the ship in the harbor, were abandoned to pillage. Of the colonists, some were put on board a vessel for St. Malo, others transported to the Chesapeake.

The news of French encroachments roused the jealousy of Virginia. Immediately Argall sailed once more to the north; raised the arms of England where those of De Guercheville had been planted; threw down the fortifications of De Monts on the Isle of St. Croix; and set on fire the deserted settlement of Port Royal. Thus did England vindicate her claim to Maine and

Acadia, and the London company avenge the invasion of its monopolies. CHAP. IV.

Returning from Acadia, Argall entered the port of New York, to assert the sovereignty of England; but there is no room to believe he ascended the Hudson. 1613

Meantime, the people of England exulted in the anticipated glories of the rising state in Virginia. The theatre rung with its praise: Shakspeare, whose friend, the "popular" earl of Southampton, was a leader in the Virginia company, echoed the general enthusiasm. His splendid prophecy promised the English nation the possession of a hemisphere, and extolled King James, as the patron of colonies, "like the mountain cedar, reaching his branches to all the plains about him."

> "Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
> His honor and the greatness of his name
> Shall be, and make new nations."

Sir Thomas Gates, leaving the government with Dale, embarked for England, where he employed himself in reviving the courage of the London company. In May, 1614, a petition for aid was presented to the house of commons, and was received with unusual solemnity. It was supported by Lord Delaware, whose affection for Virginia ceased only with life. "All it requires," said he, "is but a few honest laborers, burdened with children;" and he moved for a committee to consider of relief. But disputes with the monarch led to a separation of the commons; and it was not to lotteries or privileged companies, to parliaments or kings, that the new state was to owe its prosperity. Private industry, directed to the culture of a valuable staple, was more productive than the patronage of England; and tobacco enriched Virginia. 1614 Mar. May 17. Commons' Journal, ii. 481 Chalmers, 34, 35

CHAP. IV.

1613–1616

The condition of private property in lands, among the colonists, depended, in some measure, on the circumstances under which they had emigrated. Some had been sent and maintained at the exclusive cost of the company, and were its servants. One month of their time and three acres of land were set apart for them, besides a small allowance of two bushels of corn from the public store; the rest of their labor belonged to their employers. This number gradually decreased; and, in 1617, there were of them all, men, women, and children, but fifty-four. Others, especially the favorite settlement near the mouth of the Appomattox, were tenants, paying two and a half barrels of corn as a yearly tribute to the store, and giving to the public service one month's labor, which was to be required neither at seed-time nor harvest. He who came himself, or had sent others, at his own expense, had been entitled to a hundred acres of land for each person: now that the colony was well established, the bounty on emigration was fixed at fifty acres, of which the actual occupation and culture gave a further right to as many more, to be assigned at leisure. Besides this, lands were granted as rewards of merit; yet not more than two thousand acres could be so appropriated to one person. A payment to the company's treasury of twelve pounds and ten shillings, likewise obtained a title to any hundred acres of land not yet granted or possessed, with a reserved claim to as much more. Such were the earliest land laws of Virginia: though imperfect and unequal, they gave the cultivator the means of becoming a proprietor of the soil. These valuable changes were established by Sir Thomas Dale, a magistrate who, notwithstanding the introduction of martial law, has gained praise for his vigor

and industry, his judgment and conduct. Having remained five years in America, and now desiring to visit England and his family, he appointed George Yeardley deputy-governor, and embarked for his native country.[1] CHAP IV. 1616.

The labor of the colony had long been misdirected; in the manufacture of ashes and soap, of glass and tar, the colonists could not sustain the competition with the nations on the Baltic. Much fruitless cost had been incurred in planting vineyards. It was found that tobacco might be profitably cultivated. The sect 1615 of gold-finders had become extinct; and now the fields, the gardens, the public squares, and even the streets of Jamestown, were planted with tobacco;[2] and the colonists dispersed, unmindful of security in their eagerness for gain. Tobacco, as it gave animation to Virginian industry, eventually became not only the staple, but the currency of the colony.

With the success of industry and the security of 1617 property, the emigrants needed the possession of political rights. It is an evil incident to a corporate body, that its officers separate their interests as managers from their interests as partial proprietors. This was found to be none the less true, where an extensive territory was the estate to be managed; and imbittered parties contended for the posts of emolument and honor. It was under the influence of a faction which rarely obtained a majority, that the office of deputy-governor was intrusted to Argall. Martial law was at that time the common law of the country: that the despotism of the new deputy, who was both self-willed and avaricious, might be complete, he was further invested with the place of admiral of the country and the adjoining seas.[3]

1 Stith, 138—140. 2 Smith, ii. 33. 3 Stith, 145.

CHAP. IV. The return of Lord Delaware to America migh. have restored tranquillity; the health of that nobleman
1617. was not equal to the voyage; he embarked with many emigrants, but did not live to reach Virginia.[1] The tyranny of Argall was, therefore, left unrestrained; but his indiscriminate rapacity and vices were destined to defeat themselves, and procure for the colony an inestimable benefit; for they led him to defraud the company, as well as to oppress the colonists. The
1618 condition of Virginia became intolerable; the labor of the settlers was perverted to the benefit of the governor; servitude, for a limited period, was the common penalty annexed to trifling offences; and, in a colony where martial law still continued in force, life itself was insecure against his capricious passions. The first appeal ever made from America to England, directed, not to the king, but to the company, was in behalf of one whom Argall had wantonly condemned to death, and whom he had with great difficulty been prevailed upon to spare.[2] The colony was fast falling into disrepute, and the report of the tyranny established beyond the Atlantic, checked emigration. A reformation was demanded, and was conceded, with guarantees for the future; because the interests of the colonists and the company coincided in requiring a redress of their common wrongs. After a strenuous contest on the part of rival factions for the control of the company, the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys prevailed; Argall was displaced, and the mild and popular
1619. Yeardley was now appointed captain-general of the colony. But before the new chief magistrate could

1 Stith, 148. In Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 180—183, Lord Delaware is said to have died at Wherwell, Hants, June 7, 1618. The writers on Virginia uniformly relate that he died at sea. Smith, ii. 34.

2 Stith, 150—153.

arrive in Virginia, Argall had withdrawn, having previously, by fraudulent devices, preserved for himself and his partners the fruits of his extortions. The London company suffered the usual plagues of corporations—faithless agents, and fruitless suits.[1] CHAP. IV. 1619

The administration of Yeardley began with acts of benevolence. The ancient planters were fully released from all further service to the colony, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates, both personal and real, as amply as the subjects of England. The burdens imposed by his predecessor were removed, and martial law gradually disappeared.[2] But these were not the only benefits conferred through Yeardley; his administration marks an era in the progress of American liberty.

By the direction of the London company,[3] the authority of the governor was limited by a council, which had power to redress such wrongs as he should commit; and the colonists themselves were received to a share in legislation. In July, 1619, the first colonial assembly that ever met in Virginia[4] was convened at Jamestown. The governor, the newly-appointed council, and two representatives from each of the eleven boroughs, hence called burgesses, constituted the first popular representative body of the western hemisphere. All matters were debated which were thought expedient for the good of the colony. The legislative enactments of these earliest American lawgivers, which are yet extant, could not be of force till they were ratified by the company in England. It

1 Stith, 154. 157. The company's Chief Root of the Differences and Discontents, in Burk, i. 317—322; the leading authority, written in 1623.

2 Stith, 158—161. Chalmers, 44.

3 State of Virginia, 1620, p. 6, 7; a rare tract, of the highest authority.

4 Hening, i. 118.

CHAP IV. 1619

does not appear that the ratification took place; yet they were acknowledged to have been, "in their greatest part, very well and judiciously carried." The gratitude of the Virginians was expressed with cheerful alacrity; former griefs were buried in oblivion; and the representatives of the colony expressed their "greatest possible thanks" for the care of the company in settling the plantation.[1]

This was the happy dawn of legislative liberty in America. They who had been dependent on the will of a governor, claimed the privileges of Englishmen, and demanded a code based upon the English laws. They became willing to regard Virginia as their country; "they fell to building houses and planting corn,"[2] and fearlessly resolved to perpetuate the colony.

The patriot party in England, now possessed of the control of the London company, engaged with earnestness in schemes to advance the population and establish the liberties of Virginia; and Sir Edwin Sandys, the new treasurer, was a man of such judgment and firmness, that no intimidations, not even threats of blood, could deter him from investigating and reforming the abuses by which the progress of the colony had been retarded.[3] At his accession to office, after twelve years' labor, and an expenditure of eighty thousand pounds by the company, there were in the colony no more than six hundred persons, men, women, and children; and now, in one year, he provided a passage to Virginia for twelve hundred and sixty-one persons. Nor must the character of the emigration be over-

1 Stith, 160, 161. Smith, ii. 39. Ancient Records, in Hening, i. 121, 122. State of Virginia, 1620, p. 7. Purchas, iv. 1775, 1776. Chalmers, 44, perversely attributes to the colonial assembly the language employed by the London company.

2 Hammond; Leah and Rachel, 3.

3 Chief Root, &c., Burk, i. 323. Stith, 159.

looked. "The people of Virginia had not been settled in their minds," and as, before the recent changes, they had gone there with the design of ultimately returning to England, it was necessary to multiply attachments to the soil. Few women had as yet dared to cross the Atlantic; but now the promise of prosperity induced ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt,[1] to listen to the wishes of the company, and the benevolent advice of Sandys, and to embark for the colony, where they were assured of a welcome They were transported at the expense of the corporation, and were married to the tenants of the company, or to men who were well able to support them, and who willingly defrayed the costs of their passage, which were rigorously demanded.[2] The adventure which had been in part a mercantile speculation, succeeded so well, that it was designed to send the next 1620
year another consignment of one hundred;[3] but before these could be collected, the company found itself so poor, that its design could be accomplished only by a subscription. After some delays, sixty were actually 1621
despatched, maids of virtuous education, young, handsome, and well recommended. The price rose from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty pounds of tobacco, or even more; so that all the original charges might be repaid. The debt for a wife was a debt of honor, and took precedence of any other; and the company, in conferring employments, gave a preference to the married men. Domestic ties were formed; virtuous sentiments and habits of thrift ensued; the tide of emigration swelled, 1619 to
within three years, fifty patents for land were granted, 1621

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1 A Note of the Shipping, Men and Provisions sent to Virginia in 1619, p. 1, 2 and 3. Stith, 165.

2 Sandys, in Stith, 166.

3 Supplies for 1620, p. 11, annexed to State of Virginia, 1620.

CHAP. IV. and three thousand five hundred persons found their way to Virginia,[1] which was a refuge even for Puritans [2]

1620. May 17. The deliberate and formal concession of legislative liberties was an act of the deepest interest. When Sandys, after a year's service, resigned his office as treasurer, a struggle ensued on the election of his successor. The meeting was numerously attended; and, as the courts of the company were now become the schools of debate, many of the distinguished leaders of parliament were present. King James attempted to decide the struggle; and a message was communicated from him, nominating four candidates, one of whom he desired should receive the appointment.
1621. The company resisted the royal interference as an infringement of their charter; and while James exposed himself to the disgrace of an unsuccessful attempt at usurpation, the choice of the meeting fell upon the earl of Southampton, the early friend of Shakspeare. Having thus vindicated their own rights, the company proceeded to redress former wrongs, and to provide colonial liberty with its written guaranties.[3]

In the case of the appeal to the London company from a sentence of death pronounced by Argall, the friends of that officer had assembled, with the earl of Warwick at their head, and had voted, that trial by martial law is the noblest kind of trial, because soldiers and men of the sword were the judges. This opinion was now reversed, and the rights of the colonists to trial by jury amply sustained. Nor was it long before the freedom of the northern fisheries was equally asserted; and the early history of New England will

1 Stith, 196. State of Virginia, 1622, p. 6, &c.

2 Whitaker, in Purchas.

3 Stith, 176—181.

explain with what success the monopoly of a rival corporation was opposed.[1] CHAP. IV.

The company had silently approved, yet never expressly sanctioned, the colonial assembly which had been convened by Sir George Yeardley. It was in July, 1621, that a memorable ordinance[2] established for the colony a written constitution. The form of government prescribed for Virginia was analogous to the English constitution, and was, with some modifications, the model of the systems, which were afterwards introduced into the various royal provinces. Its purpose was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression." Its terms are few and simple;—a governor, to be appointed by the company; a permanent council, likewise to be appointed by the company; a general assembly, to be convened yearly, and to consist of the members of the council, and of two burgesses to be chosen from each of the several plantations by their respective inhabitants. The assembly might exercise full legislative authority, a negative voice being reserved to the governor; but no law or ordinance would be valid, unless ratified by the company in England. With singular justice, and a liberality without example, it was further ordained, that, after the government of the colony shall have once been framed, no orders of the court in London shall bind the colony, unless they be in like manner ratified by the general assembly. The courts of justice were required to conform to the laws and manner of trial used in the realm of England.

1621

July 24.

Such was the constitution which Sir Francis Wyatt, the successor of the mild but inefficient Yeardley, was

[1] Stith, 181—185. Gorges, c. xvii.—xxii. [2] Hening, i. 110, 111.

CHAP. IV. 1621. commissioned to bear to the colony. The system of representative government and trial by jury, was thus established in the new hemisphere as an acknowledged right; the colonists, ceasing to depend as servants on a commercial company, now became enfranchised citizens. Henceforward, the supreme power was held to reside in the hands of the colonial parliament, and of the king, as king of Virginia. The ordinance was the basis on which Virginia erected the superstructure of its liberties. Its influences were wide and enduring, and can be traced through all following years of the history of the colony. It constituted the plantation, in its infancy, a nursery of freemen; and succeeding generations learned to cherish institutions which were as old as the first period of the prosperity of their fathers. The privileges which were now conceded, could never be wrested from the Virginians; and, as new colonies arose at the south, their proprietaries could hope to win emigrants only by bestowing franchises as large as those enjoyed by their elder rival. The London company merits the fame of having acted as the successful friend of liberty in America. It may be doubted, whether any public act during the reign of King James was of more permanent or pervading influence, and it reflects glory on the earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the patriot party of England, who, unable to establish guaranties of a liberal administration at home, were careful to connect popular freedom so intimately with the life, prosperity and state of society of Virginia, that they never could be separated.

CHAPTER V.

SLAVERY. DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY.

WHILE Virginia, by the concession of a representative government, was constituted the asylum of liberty, by one of the strange contradictions in human affairs, it became the abode of hereditary bondsmen. The unjust, wasteful and unhappy system was fastened upon the rising institutions of America, not by the consent of the corporation, nor the desires of the emigrants; but, as it was introduced by the mercantile avarice of a foreign nation, so it was subsequently riveted by the policy of England, without regard to the interests or the wishes of the colony.

Slavery and the slave-trade are older than the records of human society: they are found to have existed, wherever the savage hunter began to assume the habits of pastoral or agricultural life; and, with the exception of Australasia, they have extended to every portion of the globe. They pervaded every nation of civilized antiquity. The earliest glimpses of Egyptian history exhibit pictures of bondage; the oldest monuments of human labor on the Egyptian soil are evidently the results of slave labor. The founder of the Jewish nation was a slave-holder and a purchaser of slaves. Every patriarch was lord in his own household.[1]

[1] Gen. xii. 16; xvii. 12; xxxvii. 28.

CHAP. V.

The Hebrews, when they burst the bands of their own thraldom, carried with them beyond the desert the institution of slavery. The light that broke from Sinai scattered the corrupting illusions of polytheism; but slavery planted itself even in the promised land, on the banks of Siloa, near the oracles of God. The Hebrew father might doom his daughter to bondage; the wife, and children, and posterity of the emancipated slave, remained the property of the master and his heirs; and if a slave, though mortally wounded by his master, did but languish of his wounds for a day, the owner escaped with impunity; for the slave was his master's money. It is even probable, that, at a later period, a man's family might be sold for the payment of debts.[1]

The countries that bordered on Palestine were equally familiar with domestic servitude; and, like Babylon, Tyre also, the oldest and most famous commercial city of Phenicia, was a market "for the persons of men."[2] The Scythians of the desert had already established slavery throughout the plains and forests of the unknown north.

Old as are the traditions of Greece, the existence of slavery is older. The wrath of Achilles grew out of a quarrel for a slave; the Grecian dames had crowds of servile attendants; the heroes before Troy made excursions into the neighboring villages and towns to enslave the inhabitants. Greek pirates, roving, like the corsairs of Barbary, in quest of men, laid the foundations of Greek commerce; each commercial town was a slave-mart; and every cottage near the sea-side was in danger from the

1 Exodus, xxi. 4, 5, 6, 7. 21. Matthew, xviii. 25

2 Ezekiel, xxvii. 13. Revelation, xviii. 13.

kidnapper.[1] Greeks enslaved each other. The language of Homer was the mother-tongue of the Helots; the Grecian city that made war on its neighbor city, exulted in its captives as a source of profit;[2] the hero of Macedon sold men of his own kindred and language into hopeless slavery. The idea of universal free labor had not been generated. Aristotle had written that all mankind are brothers; yet the thought of equal enfranchisement never presented itself to his sagacious understanding. In every Grecian republic, slavery was an indispensable element.

The wide diffusion of bondage throughout the dominions of Rome, and the extreme severities of the Roman law towards the slave, contributed to hasten the fall of the Roman commonwealth. The power of the father to sell his children, of the creditor to sell his insolvent debtor, of the warrior to sell his captive, carried the influence of the institution into the bosom of every Roman family; into the conditions of every contract; into the heart of every unhappy land that was invaded by the Roman eagle. The slave-markets of Rome were filled with men of every complexion and every clime.[3]

When the freedom of savage life succeeded in establishing its power on the ruins of the Roman empire, the great swarms of Roman slaves began to disappear; but the middle age witnessed rather a change in the channels of the slave-trade, than a diminution of its evils. The pirate, and the kidnapper, and the conqueror, still continued their pursuits. The Saxon race

1 Thucydides, l. i. c. v.

2 Arist. Pol., l. i. c. 2, censures the practice, which was yet the common law.

3 Senecæ Epist. xcv. Agmina exoletorum, per nationes coloresque descripta, &c. De Brevit. Vit. c. xii.

CHAP. V. carried the most repulsive forms of slavery to England, where not half the population could assert a right to freedom, and where the price of a man was but four times the price of an ox. The importation of foreign slaves was freely tolerated: in defiance of severe penalties, the Saxons sold their own kindred into slavery on the continent; nor could the traffic be checked, till religion, pleading the cause of humanity, made its appeal to conscience. Even after the conquest, slaves
1102. were exported from England to Ireland, till the reign of Henry II., when a national synod of the Irish, to remove the pretext for an invasion, decreed the emancipation of all English slaves in the island.[1]

The German nations made the shores of the Baltic the scenes of the same desolating traffic; and the Dnieper formed the highway on which Russian merchants conveyed to Constantinople the slaves that had been purchased in the markets of Russia. The wretched often submitted to bondage, as the bitter but only refuge from absolute want. But it was the long wars between German and Slavonic tribes which imparted to the slave-trade its greatest activity, and filled France and the neighboring states with such numbers of victims, that they gave the name of the Slavonic nation to servitude itself; and every country of Western Europe still preserves in its language the record of the barbarous traffic in "Slaves."[2]

Nor did France abstain from the slave-trade. At Lyons and Verdun, the Jews were able to purchase slaves for their Saracen customers.[3]

In Sicily, and perhaps in Italy, the children of Asia nd Africa, in their turn, were exposed for sale. The

1 Wilkins's Concilia, i. 383, 471. ompare Lyttleton's Henry II. iii. 0: Turner, Lingard, Anderson.

2 Hüne's Darstellung, i. 102 and ff.

3 Fischer, in Hüne, i. 115

people of the wilderness and the desert are famed for love of their offspring; yet in the extremity of poverty, even the Arab father would sometimes pawn his children to the Italian merchant, in the vain hope of soon effecting their ransom. Rome itself long remained a mart where Christian slaves were exposed for sale, to supply the domestic market of Mahometans. The Venetians, in their commercial intercourse with the ports of unbelieving nations, as well as with Rome, purchased alike infidels and Christians, and sold them again to the Arabs in Sicily and Spain. Christian and Jewish avarice supplied the slave-market of the Saracens. What though the trade was exposed to the censure of the church, and prohibited by the laws of Venice? It could not be effectually checked, till, by the Venetian law, no slave might enter a Venetian ship, and to tread the deck of an argosy of Venice became the privilege and the evidence of freedom.[1]

The spirit of the Christian religion would, before the discovery of America, have led to the entire abolition of the slave-trade, but for the hostility between the Christian church and the followers of Mahomet. In the twelfth century, Pope Alexander III., true to the spirit of his office, which, during the supremacy of brute force in the middle age, made of the chief minister of religion the tribune of the people and the guardian of the oppressed, had written, that "Nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty."[2] But the slave-trade had never relented among the Mahometans: the captive Christian had no alternative but apostasy or servitude, and the

[1] Fischer, in Hüne, i. 116. Marin, in Heeren, ii. 260.

[2] See his letter to Lupus, king of Valencia, in Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores; Londini, 1652, i. 580. Cum autem omnes liberos natura creasset, nullus conditione naturæ fuit subditus servituti.

CHAP. V. captive infidel was treated in Christendom with corresponding intolerance. In the days of the crusaders, and in the camp of the leader whose pious arms redeemed the sepulchre of Christ from the mixed nations of Asia and Lybia, the price of a war-horse was three slaves. The Turks, whose law forbids the enslaving of a Mahometan, still continue to sell Christian captives; and we have seen, that the father of Virginia had himself tasted the bitterness of Turkish bondage.

All this might have had no influence on the destinies of America, but for the long and doubtful struggles between Christians and Moors in the west of Europe; where, for more than seven centuries, and in more than three thousand battles, the two religions were arrayed against each other; and bondage was the reciprocal doom of the captive. Bigotry inflamed revenge, and animated the spirit of merciless and exterminating warfare. France and Italy were filled with Saracen slaves; the number of them sold into Christian bondage exceeded the number of all the Christians ever sold by the pirates of Barbary. The clergy, who had pleaded successfully for the Christian, felt no sympathy for the unbeliever. The final victory of the Spaniards over the Moors of Granada—an event contemporary with the discovery of America—was signalized by a great emigration of the Moors to the coasts of Northern Africa, where each mercantile city became a nest of pirates, and every Christian the wonted booty of the successful corsair. Servitude was thus the doom of the Christian in Northern Africa: the hatred of the Moorish dominion extending to all Africa, an indiscriminate and retaliating bigotry felt no remorse at dooming the sons of Africa to bondage. All Africans were esteemed as Moors.

The amelioration of the customs of Europe had proceeded from the influence of religion. It was the clergy who had broken up the Christian slave-markets at Bristol and at Hamburg, at Lyons and at Rome. At the epoch of the discovery of America, the moral opinion of the civilized world had abolished the traffic in Christian slaves, and was fast demanding the emancipation of the serfs: but bigotry had favored a compromise with avarice; and the infidel was not yet included within the pale of humanity.

Yet negro slavery is not an invention of the white man. As Greeks enslaved Greeks, as the Hebrew often consented to make the Hebrew his absolute lord, as Anglo-Saxons trafficked in Anglo-Saxons, so the negro race enslaved its own brethren. The oldest accounts of the land of the negroes, like the glimmering traditions of Egypt and Phenicia, of Greece and of Rome, bear witness to the existence of domestic slavery and the caravans of dealers in negro slaves. The oldest Greek historian[1] commemorates the traffic. Negro slaves were seen in classic Greece, and were known at Rome and in the Roman empire. It is from about the year 990, that regular accounts of the negro slave-trade exist. At that period, Moorish merchants from the Barbary coast first reached the cities of Nigritia, and established an uninterrupted exchange of Saracen and European luxuries for the gold and slaves of Central Africa. Even though whole caravans were sometimes buried in the sands of the desert, and at others, without shade and without water, suffered the horrors of parching thirst under a tropical sun, yet the commerce extended because it was profitable; and

1 Herodotus, l. iv. c. 181—185. Compare Heeren, xiii. 187 and 231; Blair's Roman Slavery, 24.

CHAP. V. before the genius of Columbus had opened the path to a new world, the negro slave-trade had been reduced to a system by the Moors, and had spread from the native regions of the Æthiopian race to the heart of Egypt on the one hand, and to the coasts of Barbary on the other.[1]

But the danger for America did not end here. The traffic of Europeans in negro slaves was fully established before the colonization of the United States, and had existed a half century before the discovery of America.

1415. It was not long after the first conquests of the Portuguese in Barbary, that the passion for gain, the love of conquest, and the hatred of the infidels, conducted their navy to the ports of Western Africa; and
1441. the first ships which sailed so far south as Cape Blanco, returned, not with negroes, but with Moors. The subjects of this importation were treated, not as laborers, but rather as strangers, from whom information respecting their native country was to be derived.
1443. Antony Gonzalez, who had brought them to Portugal, was commanded to restore them to their ancient homes. He did so, and the Moors gave him as their ransom, not gold only, but "black Moors" with curled hair. Thus negro slaves came into Europe; and mercantile cupidity immediately observed, that negroes might become an object of lucrative commerce. New
1444. ships were despatched without delay.[2] Spain also engaged in the traffic: the historian of her maritime discoveries even claims for her the unenviable distinction of having anticipated the Portuguese in introducing negroes into Europe.[3] The merchants of

1 Edrisius and Leo Africanus, in Hüne, i. 150—163. Hüne's volumes deserve to be more known.

2 Galvano, in Hakluyt, iv. 413 De Pauw, Rech. Phil. i. 21.

3 Navarette, Introduccion, s. xix.

Seville imported gold dust and slaves from the western coast of Africa;[1] and negro slavery, though the severity of bondage was mitigated in its character by benevolent legislation,[2] was established in Andalusia, and "abounded in the city of Seville," before the enterprise of Columbus was conceived.[3]

The maritime adventurers of those days, joining the principles of bigots with the bold designs of pirates and heroes, esteemed the wealth of the countries which they might discover as their rightful plunder, and the inhabitants, if Christians, as their subjects, if infidels, as their slaves. Even Indians of Hispaniola were imported into Spain. Cargoes of the natives of the north were early and repeatedly kidnapped. The coasts of America, like the coasts of Africa, were visited by ships in search of laborers; and there was hardly a convenient harbor on the whole Atlantic frontier of the United States which was not entered by slavers.[4] The native Indians themselves were ever ready to resist the treacherous merchant; the freemen of the wilderness, unlike the Africans, among whom slavery had existed from immemorial time, would never abet the foreign merchant, or become his factors in the nefarious traffic. Fraud and force remained, therefore, the means by which, near Newfoundland or Florida, on the shores of the Atlantic, or among the Indians

1 Prescott's Ferdinand and Isabella.

2 Zuñiga, Annales de Sevilla, 373, 374. The passage is very remarkable. "Avia años que desde los Puertos de Andaluzia se frequentava navegacion à los costas de Africa, y Guinea, de donde se traian esclavos, de que ya abundava esta ciudad, &c. &c., 373. Eran en Sevilla los negros tratados con gran benignidad, desde el tiempo de el Rey Don Henrique Tercero," &c. &c., 374. I owe the opportunity of consulting Zuñiga to W H. Prescott, of Boston.

3 Irving's Columbus, ii. 351, 352. Herrera, d. i. l. iv. c. xii.

4 Compare Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, d. vii. c. i. and ii. in Hakluyt, v. 404, 405. 407.

CHAP. V. of the Mississippi valley, Cortereal and Vasquez de Ayllon, Porcallo and Soto, with private adventurers, whose names and whose crimes may be left unrecorded, transported the natives of North America into slavery in Europe and the Spanish West Indies. The glory of Columbus himself did not escape the stain;
1494. enslaving five hundred native Americans, he sent them to Spain, that they might be publicly sold at Seville.[1]
1500. The generous Isabella commanded the liberation of the Indians held in bondage in her European possessions.[2] Yet her active benevolence extended neither to the Moors, whose valor had been punished by slavery, nor to the Africans; and even her compassion for the New World was but the transient feeling, which relieves the miserable who are in sight, not the deliberate application of a just principle. For the
June 5 and July 5. commissions for making discoveries, issued a few days before and after her interference to rescue those whom Columbus had enslaved, reserved for herself and Ferdinand a fourth part[3] of the slaves which the new
1501. kingdoms might contain. The slavery of Indians was recognized as lawful.[4]

The practice of selling the natives of North America into foreign bondage continued for nearly two centuries; and even the sternest morality pronounced the sentence of slavery and exile on the captives whom the field of battle had spared. The excellent Winthrop enumerates Indians among his bequests.[5] The articles of the early New England confederacy class persons among the spoils of war. A scanty remnant of the

1 Irving's Columbus, b. viii. c. v. Navarette, ii. 245, and again, ii. 249.

2 Navarette, Coll. ii. 246, 247.

3 Esclavos, é negros, é loros que en estos nuestros reinos sean habidos é reputados por esclavos, &c.

4 See a cédula on a slave contract, in Navarette, iii. 514, 515, given June 20, 1501.

5 Winthrop's N. E., ii. 360.

CHAP. V.

Pequod tribe[1] in Connecticut, the captives treacherously made by Waldron, in New Hampshire,[2] the harmless fragments of the tribe of Annawon,[3] the orphan offspring of King Philip himself,[4] were all doomed to the same hard destiny of perpetual bondage. The clans of Virginia and Carolina,[5] for more than a hundred years, were hardly safe against the kidnapper. The universal public mind was long and deeply vitiated.

It was not Las Casas who first suggested the plan of transporting African slaves to Hispaniola; Spanish slaveholders, as they emigrated, were accompanied by their negroes. The emigration may at first have been contraband; but a royal edict soon permitted negro 1501
slaves, born in slavery among Christians, to be transported to Hispaniola.[6] Thus the royal ordinances of Spain authorized negro slavery in America. Within two years, there were such numbers of Africans in 1503
Hispaniola, that Ovando, the governor of the island, entreated that the importation might no longer be permitted.[7] The Spanish government attempted to disguise the crime, by forbidding the introduction of negro slaves, who had been bred in Moorish families,[8] and allowing only those who were said to have been instructed in the Christian faith, to be transported to the West Indies, under the plea that they might assist in converting the infidel nations. But the idle pretence was soon abandoned; for should faith in Christianity be punished by perpetual bondage in the

1 Winthrop's N. E., i. 234.

2 Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampshire, i. 75, Farmer's edition.

3 Baylies' Plymouth, iii. 190.

4 Davis, on Morton's Memorial, 454, 455. Baylies' Plymouth, iii. 190, 191.

5 Hening, i. 481, 482. The act, forbidding the crime, proves, what is indeed undisputed, its previous existence. Lawson's Carolina. Chalmers, 542.

6 Herrera, d. i. l. iv. c. xii.

7 Irving's Columbus, Appendix, No. 26, iii. 372, first American edition.

8 Herrera, d. i. l. vi. c. xx.

CHAP. V. colonies? And would the purchaser be scrupulously inquisitive of the birthplace and instruction of his laborers? Besides, the culture of sugar was now successfully begun; and the system of slavery, already riveted, was not long restrained by the scruples of men
1510. in power. King Ferdinand himself sent from Seville fifty slaves[1] to labor in the mines; and, because it was said, that one negro could do the work of four Indians, the direct traffic in slaves between Guinea and His-
1511. paniola was enjoined by a royal ordinance,[2] and de-
1512-3 liberately sanctioned by repeated decrees.[3] Was it not natural that Charles V., a youthful monarch, surrounded by rapacious courtiers, should have readily
1516. granted licenses to the Flemings to transport negroes to the colonies? The benevolent Las Casas, who had seen the native inhabitants of the New World vanish away, like dew, before the cruelties of the Spaniards, who felt for the Indians all that an ardent charity and the purest missionary zeal could inspire, and who had seen the African thriving in robust[4] health under the
1517. sun of Hispaniola, returning from America to plead the cause of the feeble Indians, in the same year which saw the dawn of the Reformation in Germany, suggested the expedient,[5] that negroes might still further be employed to perform the severe toils which they alone could endure. The avarice of the Flemings greedily seized on the expedient; the board of trade

1 Herrera, d. i. l. viii. c. ix.

2 Ibid. d. i. l. ix. c. v. Herrera is explicit. The note of the French translator of Navarette, i .203, 204, needs correction. A commerce in negroes, sanctioned by the crown, was surely not contraband.

3 Irving's Columbus, iii. 372.

4 Ibid. iii. 370, 371.

5 The merits of Las Casas have been largely discussed. The controversy seems now concluded. Irving's Columbus, iii. 367—378. Navarette, Introduccion, s. lviii. lix. The Memoir of Las Casas still exists in manuscript. Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xx. Robertson's America, b. iii. It may yet gratify curiosity to compare Grégoire, Apologie de B. Las Casas, in Mem. de l'Inst. Nat. An viii.; and Verplanck, in N. Y. Hist Coll. iii. 49—53, and 103—105.

at Seville was consulted, to learn how many slaves would be required. It had been proposed to allow four for each Spanish emigrant; deliberate calculation fixed the number esteemed necessary at four thousand. The very year in which Charles V. sailed with a powerful expedition against Tunis, to check the piracies of the Barbary states, and to emancipate Christian slaves in Africa, he gave an open legal sanction to the African slave-trade. The sins of the Moors were to be revenged on the negroes; and the monopoly,[1] for eight years, of annually importing four thousand slaves into the West Indies, was eagerly seized by La Bresa, a favorite of the Spanish monarch, and was sold to the Genoese, who purchased their cargoes of Portugal. We shall, at a later period, have occasion to observe a stipulation for this lucrative monopoly, forming an integral part in a treaty of peace, established by a European Congress; shall witness the sovereign of the most free state in Europe *stipulating* for a *fourth* part of its profits; and shall trace its intimate connection with the first in that series of wars which led to the emancipation of America. Thus a hasty benevolence, too zealous to be just, attempted to save the natives of America by sanctioning an equal oppression of another race. But covetousness, and not a mistaken benevolence, established the slave-trade, which had nearly received its development before the charity of Las Casas was heard in defence of the Indians. Reason,[2] policy,[3] and religion, alike condemned the

1 Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xx.

2 Inter dominum et servum nulla amicitia est; etiam in pace belli tamen jura servantur. Quintus Curtius, l. vii. c. viii. John Locke, who sanctioned slavery in Carolina, gives a similar definition of it. "The perfect condition of slavery is the state of war continued between a lawful conqueror and a captive." Compare, also, Montesquieu de l'Esprit des Lois, l. xv. c. v., on negro slavery.

3 See A. Q. Review, for Dec. 1832, for the effects of slavery in Virginia.

CHAP. V. traffic. A series of papal bulls had indeed secured to the Portuguese the exclusive commerce with Western Africa; but the slave-trade between Africa and America was, I believe, never expressly sanctioned by the see of Rome. The spirit of the Roman church was against it. Even Leo X., though his voluptuous life, making of his pontificate a continued carnival, might have deadened the sentiments of humanity and justice, declared,[1] that "not the Christian religion only, but nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery."
1537. June 10. And Paul III., in two separate briefs,[2] imprecated a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians, or any other class of men. It even became usual for Spanish vessels, when they sailed on a voyage of discovery, to be attended by a priest, whose benevolent duty it was, to prevent the kidnapping of the aborigines.[3] The legislation of independent America has been emphatic[4] in denouncing the hasty avarice which entailed the anomaly of negro slavery in the midst of liberty. Ximenes, the gifted coadjutor of Ferdinand and Isabella, the stern grand inquisitor, the austere but ambitious Franciscan, saw in advance the danger which it required centuries to reveal, and refused to sanction the introduction of negroes into Hispaniola; believing[5] that the favorable climate would increase their numbers, and infallibly lead them to a successful revolt. A severe retribution has manifested his sagacity: Hayti, the first spot in America that received

[1] Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, i. 35, American edition. Clarkson, i. 33, 34, says that Charles V. lived to repent his permission of slavery, and to order emancipation. The first is probable; yet Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xx., denounces not slavery, but the monopoly of the slave-trade.

[2] See the brief, in Remesal, Hist. de Chiappa, l. iii. c. xvi. xvii.

[3] T. Southey's West Indies, i. 126.

[4] Walsh's Appeal, 306—342. Belknap's Correspondence with Tucker, i. Mass. Hist. Coll. iv. 190—211.

[5] Irving, iii. 374, 375.

African slaves, was the first to set the example of African liberty. But for the slave-trade, the African race would have had no inheritance in the New World.

The odious distinction of having first interested England in the slave-trade, belongs to Sir John Hawkins. He had fraudulently transported a large cargo of Africans to Hispaniola; the rich returns of sugar, ginger, and pearls, attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth; and when a new expedition was prepared, she was induced, not only to protect, but to share the traffic.[1] In the accounts which Hawkins himself gives[2] of one of his expeditions, he relates, that he set fire to a city, of which the huts were covered with dry palm leaves, and, out of eight thousand inhabitants, succeeded in seizing two hundred and fifty. The deliberate and even self-approving frankness with which this act of atrocity is related, and the lustre which the fame of Hawkins acquired, display in the strongest terms the depravity of public sentiment in the age of Elizabeth. The leader in these expeditions was not merely a man of courage; in all other emergencies, he knew how to pity the unfortunate, even when they were not his countrymen, and to relieve their wants with cheerful liberality.[3] Yet the commerce, on the part of the English, in the Spanish ports, was by the laws of Spain illicit, as well as by the laws of morals detestable; and when the sovereign of England participated in its hazards, its profits and its crimes, she became at once a smuggler and a slave merchant.[4]

1562

1567

A ship of one Thomas Keyser and one James Smith, 1645

1 Compare Hakluyt, ii. 351, 352, with iii. 594. Hewat's Carolina, i. 20—26. Keith's Virginia, 31. Anderson's History of Commerce.

2 Hakluyt, iii. 618, 619.

3 Ibid. iii. 418, 419, 612—614.

4 Lingard, viii. 306, 307.

CHAP. V. the latter a member of the church of Boston, first brought upon the colonies the guilt of participating in the traffic in African slaves. They sailed "for Guinea to trade for negroes;"[1] but throughout Massachusetts the cry of justice was raised against them as malefactors and murderers; Richard Saltonstall, a worthy assistant, felt himself moved by his duty as a magistrate, to denounce the act of stealing negroes as "expressly contrary to the law of God and the law of the country;"[2] the guilty men were committed for the offence;[3] and, after advice with the elders, the repre-
1646. sentatives of the people, bearing "witness against the heinous crime of man-stealing," ordered the negroes to be restored, at the public charge, "to their native country, with a letter expressing the indignation of the general court" at their wrongs.[4]

1671. When George Fox visited Barbadoes in 1671, he enjoined it upon the planters, that they should "deal mildly and gently with their negroes; and that, after certain years of servitude, they should make them free." The idea of George Fox had been anticipated by the
1652. May 18. fellow-citizens of Gorton and Roger Williams. Nearly twenty years had then elapsed, since the representatives of Providence and Warwick, perceiving the disposition of people in the colony "to buy negroes," and hold them "as slaves forever," had enacted that "no black mankind" should, "by covenant, bond, or otherwise," be held to perpetual service; the master, "at the end of ten years, shall set them free, as the manner is with English servants; and that man that will not let" his slave "go free, or shall sell him away, to the end that he may be enslaved to others for a longer time, shall for-

1 Winthrop, ii. 243, 244, 245.
2 Ibid. ii. 379, 380.
3 Colony Records, iii. 45.
4 Colony Laws, c. xii

feit to the colony forty pounds."[1] Now, forty pounds was nearly twice the value of a negro slave. The law was not enforced; but the principle lived among the people.

Conditional servitude, under indentures or covenants, had from the first existed in Virginia. The servant stood to his master in the relation of a debtor, bound to discharge the costs of emigration by the entire employment of his powers for the benefit of his creditor. Oppression early ensued: men who had been transported into Virginia at an expense of eight or ten pounds, were sometimes sold for forty, fifty, or even threescore pounds.[2] The supply of white servants became a regular business; and a class of men, nicknamed spirits, used to delude young persons, servants and idlers, into embarking for America, as to a land of spontaneous plenty.[3] White servants came to be a usual article of traffic. They were sold in England to be transported, and in Virginia were resold to the highest bidder; like negroes, they were to be purchased on shipboard, as men buy horses at a fair.[4] In 1672, the average price in the colonies, where five years of service were due, was about ten pounds; while a negro was worth twenty or twenty-five pounds.[5] So usual was this manner of dealing in Englishmen, that not the Scots only, who were taken in the field of Dunbar, were sent into involuntary servitude in New England,[6] but the royalist prisoners of the battle of Worcester;[7] and the leaders in the insurrection of Penrud-

1 George Fox's Journal, An. 1671. The law of Rhode Island I copied from the records in Providence.

2 Smith, i. 105.

3 Bullock's Virginia, 1649, p. 14.

4 Sad State of Virginia, 1657, p. 4, 5. Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 7.

5 Blome's Jamaica, 84 and 16.

6 Cromwell and Cotton, in Hutchinson's Coll. 233—235.

7 Suffolk County Records, i. 5 and 6. The names of two hundred and seventy are recorded. The lading of the John and Sarah was

CHAP. V. doc,[1] in spite of the remonstrance of Haselrig and Henry Vane, were shipped to America. At the corresponding period, in Ireland, the crowded exportation of Irish Catholics was a frequent event, and was attended by aggravations hardly inferior to the usual atrocities of the African slave-trade.[2] In 1685, when nearly a thousand of the prisoners, condemned for participating in the insurrection of Monmouth, were sentenced to transportation, men of influence at court, with rival importunity, scrambled for the convicted in surgents as a merchantable commodity.[3]

The condition of apprenticed servants in Virginia differed from that of slaves chiefly in the duration of their bondage; and the laws of the colony favored their early enfranchisement.[4] But this state of labor easily admitted the introduction of perpetual servitude. The commerce of Virginia had been at first monopolized by the company; but as its management for the benefit of the corporation led to frequent dissensions,
1620 it was in 1620 laid open to free competition.[5] In the month of August of that year, just fourteen months after the first representative assembly of Virginia, four months before the Plymouth colony landed in America, and less than a year before the concession of a written constitution, more than a century after the last vestiges of hereditary slavery had disappeared from English society and the English constitution, and six years after the commons of France had petitioned for the emancipation of every serf in every fief, a Dutch man-of-war entered James River, and landed twenty

"ironwork, household stuff, and other provisions for planters and Scotch prisoners." Recorded May 14, 1652.

1 Burton's Diary, iv. 262. 271. Godwin's Commonwealth, iv. 172.

2 Lingard, xi. 131, 132.

3 Dalrymple. Mackintosh, Hist. of the Revolution of 1688.

4 Hening, i. 257.

5 Stith, 171.

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negroes for sale.[1] This is, indeed, the sad epoch of the introduction of negro slavery in the English colonies; but the traffic would have been checked in its infancy, had its profits remained with the Dutch. Thirty years after this first importation of Africans, the increase had been so inconsiderable, that to one black, Virginia contained fifty whites; [2] and, at a later period, after seventy years of its colonial existence, the number of its negro slaves was proportionably much less than in several of the free states at the time of the war of independence. It is the duty of faithful history to trace events, not only to their causes, but to their authors; and we shall hereafter inquire what influence was ultimately extended to counteract the voice of justice, the cry of humanity, and the remonstrances of colonial legislation. Had no other form of servitude been known in Virginia, than such as had been tolerated in Europe, every difficulty would have been promptly obviated by the benevolent spirit of colonial legislation. But a new problem in the history of man, was now to be solved. For the first time, the Æthiopian and Caucasian races were to meet together in nearly equal numbers beneath a temperate zone. Who could foretell the issue? The negro race, from the first, was regarded with disgust, and its union with the whites forbidden under ignominious penalties.[3] For many years, the Dutch were principally concerned in the slave-trade in the market of Virginia; the immediate demand for laborers may, in part, have blinded the eyes of the planters to the ultimate evils of slavery,[4]

1 Beverley's Virginia, 35. Stith, 182; Chalmers, 49; Burk, i. 211; and Hening, i. 146, all rely on Beverley.

2 New Description of Virginia.

3 Hening, i. 146.

4 This may be inferred from a paper on Virginia, in Thurloe, v. 81, or Hazard, i. 601.

CHAP. V. though the laws of the colony, at a very early period, discouraged its increase by a special tax upon female slaves.[1]

1621 If Wyatt, on his arrival in Virginia, found the evil of negro slavery engrafted on the social system, he brought with him the memorable ordinance, on which the fabric of colonial liberty was to rest, and which was interpreted by his instructions[2] in a manner favorable to the independent rights of the colonists. Justice was established on the basis of the laws of England, and an amnesty of ancient feuds proclaimed. As Puritanism had appeared in Virginia, "needless novelties" in the forms of worship were now prohibited. The order to search for minerals betrays the continuance of lingering hopes of finding gold; while the injunction to promote certain kinds of manufactures was ineffectual, because labor could otherwise be more profitably employed.

1621 Nov. and Dec. The business which occupied the first session under the written constitution, related chiefly to the encouragement of domestic industry; and the culture of silk particularly engaged the attention of the assembly.[3] But legislation, though it can favor industry, cannot create it. When soil, men, and circumstances, combine to render a manufacture desirable, legislation can protect the infancy of enterprise against the unequal competition with established skill. The culture of silk, long, earnestly, and frequently recommended to the attention of Virginia,[4] is successfully pursued, only when a superfluity of labor exists in a redundant population. In America, the first wants of life left no

1 Hening, ii. 84, Act liv. March, 1662. The statute implies, that the rule already existed.

2 Ibid. i. 114—118. Stith, p. 194—196. Burk, v. i. p. 224—227.

3 Hening, i. 119.

4 Virgo Triumphans, 35.

abor without a demand; silk-worms could not be cared for where every comfort of household existence required to be created. Still less was the successful culture of the vine possible. The company had repeatedly sent vine-dressers, who had been set to work under the terrors of martial law, and whose efforts were continued after the establishment of regular government. But the toil was in vain. The extensive culture of the vine, unless singularly favored by climate, succeeds only in a dense population; for a small vineyard requires the labor of many hands. It is a law of nature, that, in a new country under the temperate zone, corn and cattle will be raised, rather than silk or wine.

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1621 The first culture of cotton in the United States deserves commemoration. This year the seeds were planted as an experiment; and their "plentiful coming up" was, at that early day, a subject of interest in America and England.[1]

Nor did the benevolence of the company neglect to establish places of education, and provide for the support of religious worship. The bishop of London collected and paid a thousand pounds towards a university; which, like the several churches of the colony, was liberally endowed with domains.[2] Public and private charity were active;[3] but the lands were never occupied by productive laborers; and the system of obtaining a revenue through a permanent tenantry could meet with no success, for it was not in harmony with the condition of colonial society.

1622 Between the Indians and the English there had been quarrels, but no wars. From the first landing

[1] Thorp's letter of May 17, 1621, in a marginal note in Purchas, iv. 1789.

[2] Stith, 162. 166. 172, 173.

[3] Mem. of Religious Charitie, in State of Virginia, 1622, p. 51—54.

CHAP. V. 1622. of colonists in Virginia, the power of the natives was despised; their strongest weapons were such arrows as they could shape without the use of iron, such hatchets as could be made from stone; and an English mastiff seemed to them a terrible adversary.[1] Nor were their numbers considerable. Within sixty miles of Jamestown, it is computed, there were no more than five thousand souls, or about fifteen hundred warriors. The whole territory of the clans which listened to Powhatan as their leader or their conqueror, comprehended about eight thousand square miles, thirty tribes, and twenty-four hundred warriors, so that the Indian population amounted to about one inhabitant to a square mile.[2] The natives, naked and feeble compared with the Europeans, were no where concentrated in considerable villages, but dwelt dispersed in hamlets, with from forty to sixty in each company. Few places had more than two hundred; and many had less.[3] It was also unusual for any large portion of these tribes to be assembled together. An idle tale of an ambuscade of three or four thousand is perhaps an error for three or four hundred; otherwise it is an extravagant fiction, wholly unworthy of belief.[4] Smith once met a party, that seemed to amount to seven hundred; and, so complete was the superiority conferred by the use of fire-arms, that with fifteen men he was able to withstand them all.[5] The savages were therefore regarded with contempt or compassion. No uniform care had been taken to conciliate their

1 Smith, ii. 68. Stith, 211.

2 Smith, i. 129. Compare Jefferson's Notes, Quære xi.; True Declaration of Virginia, 10. "The extent of a hundred miles was scarce peopled with two thousand inhabitants."

3 Smith, ii. 66. Purchas, iv. 1790. State of Virginia in 1622, p. 19. Heylin, b. iv. 96.

4 Smith, i. 177, abundantly refuted by what "Smith writ with his own hand," i. 129. Burk, i 311, 312, condemned too hastily

5 Smith, i. 129.

good will; although their condition had been improved by some of the arts of civilized life. The degree of their advancement may be judged by the intelligence of their chieftain. A house having been built for Opechancanough after the English fashion, he took such delight in the lock and key, that he would lock and unlock the door a hundred times a day, and thought the device incomparable.[1] When Wyatt arrived, the natives expressed a fear lest his intentions should be hostile: he assured them of his wish to preserve inviolable peace; and the emigrants had no use for fire-arms except against a deer or a fowl. Confidence so far increased, that the old law, which made death the penalty for teaching the Indians to use a musket, was forgotten; and they were now employed as fowlers and huntsmen.[2] The plantations of the English were widely extended, in unsuspecting confidence, along the James River and towards the Potomac, wherever rich grounds invited to the culture of tobacco;[3] nor were solitary places, remote from neighbors, avoided, since there would there be less competition for the ownership of the soil.

CHAP V. 1622

Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, remained, after the marriage of his daughter, the firm friend of the English. He died in 1618; and his younger brother was now the heir to his influence. Should the native occupants of the soil consent to be driven from their ancient patrimony? Should their feebleness submit patiently to contempt, injury, and the loss of their lands? The desire of self-preservation, the necessity of self-defence, seemed to demand an active resistance; to preserve their dwelling-places, the English

1 Smith, ii. 68. Stith, 211.
2 Ibid. ii. 103. Beverley, 38.
3 Beverley, 38. Burk, i. 231, 232.

CHAP. V. 1622 must be exterminated; in open battle the Indians would be powerless; conscious of their weakness, they could not hope to accomplish their end except by a preconcerted surprise. The crime was one of savage ferocity; but it was suggested by their situation. They were timorous and quick of apprehension, and consequently treacherous; for treachery and falsehood are the vices of cowardice. The attack was prepared with impenetrable secrecy. To the very last hour the Indians preserved the language of friendship: they borrowed the boats of the English to attend their own assemblies; on the very morning of the massacre, they were in the houses and at the tables of those whose death they were plotting. "Sooner," said they, "shall the sky fall, than peace be violated on our

Mar. 22 part." At length, on the twenty-second of March, at mid-day, at one and the same instant of time, the Indians fell upon an unsuspecting population, which was scattered through distant villages, extending one hundred and forty miles, on both sides of the river. The onset was so sudden, that the blow was not discerned till it fell. None were spared: children and women, as well as men; the missionary, who had cherished the natives with untiring gentleness; the liberal benefactors, from whom they had received daily kindnesses,—all were murdered with indiscriminate barbarity, and every aggravation of cruelty. The savages fell upon the dead bodies, as if it had been possible to commit on them a fresh murder.

In one hour three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off. Yet the carnage was not universal, and Virginia was saved from so disastrous a grave.[1]

[1] On the massacre; A Declaration of the State of Virginia, with a Relation of the barbarous Massacre, &c. &c. 1622. This is the

The night before the execution of the conspiracy, it was revealed by a converted Indian to an Englishman whom he wished to rescue; Jamestown and the nearest settlements were well prepared against an attack; and the savages, as timid as they were ferocious, fled with precipitation from the appearance of wakeful resistance. Thus the larger part of the colony was saved[1] A year after the massacre, there still remained two thousand five hundred men; the total number of the emigrants had exceeded four thousand. The immediate consequences of this massacre were disastrous. Public works were abandoned;[2] the culture of the fields was much restricted; the settlements were reduced from eighty plantations to less than eight.[3] Sickness prevailed among the dispirited colonists, who were now crowded into narrow quarters; some even returned to England. But plans of industry were eventually succeeded by schemes of revenge; and a war of extermination ensued. In England, the news, far from dispiriting the adventurers, awakened them to strong feelings of compassionate interest; the purchase of Virginia was endeared by the sacrifice of so much life; and the blood of the victims became the nurture of the plantation.[4] New supplies and assistance were promptly despatched; even King James, for a moment, affected a sentiment of generosity, and, like the churl, gave from the tower of London presents of arms, which had been thrown by as good for nothing in Europe. They might be useful, thought the monarch, against the Indians! He

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1622

groundwork of the narrative in Smith, ii. 65—76, and of Purchas, iv. 1788—1791. Stith, 208—213.

1 State of Virginia, in 1622, p. 18. Purchas, iv. 1792, says one thousand eight hundred survived; probably inexact. Compare Holmes, i. 178, note.

2 Stith, 281, 219. 218.

3 Purchas, iv. 1792. Virginia's Verger, in Purchas, iv. 1816. Stith, 235.

4 Stith, 233.

CHAP. V. 1622. also made good promises, which were never fulfilled.[1] The city of London contributed to repair the losses of the Virginians; and many private persons displayed an honorable liberality.[2] Smith volunteered his services to protect the planters, overawe the savages, and make discoveries; the company had no funds, and his proposition was never made a matter of public discussion or record; but some of the members, with ludicrous cupidity, proposed, he should have leave to go at his own expense, if he would grant the corporation one half of the pillage.[3] There were in the colony much loss and much sorrow, but never any serious apprehensions of discomfiture from the Indians. The midnight surprise, the ambuscade by day, might be feared; the Indians promptly fled on the least indications of watchfulness and resistance. There were not wanting men who now advocated an entire subjection of those whom lenity could not win; and the example of Spanish cruelties was cited with applause.[4] Besides, a natural instinct had led the Indians to select for their villages the pleasantest places, along the purest streams, and near the soil that was most easily cultivated. Their rights of property were no longer much respected; their open fields and villages were now appropriated by the colonists, who could plead the laws of war in defence of their covetousness. Treachery also was employed. The tangled woods, the fastnesses of nature, were the bulwarks to which the savages retreated. Pursuit would have been vain; they could not be destroyed except as they were lulled into security, and induced to return to their old homes.

23. In July of the following year, the inhabitants of the

1 Burk, i. 248, 249.
2 Stith, 232, 233.
3 Smith, ii. 79—81. Stith. 234.
4 Stith, 233. Smith, ii. 71, 72.
5 Stith, 30[illegible].

several settlements, in parties, under commissioned CHAP. V.
officers, fell upon the adjoining savages; and a law of
the general assembly commanded, that in July of 1624,
the attack should be repeated. Six years later, the 1630
colonial statute-book proves that schemes of ruthless
vengeance were still meditated; for it was sternly insisted, that no peace should be concluded with the
Indians—a law which remained in force till a treaty in
the administration of Harvey.[1] 1632

Meantime, a change was preparing in the relations 1623
of the colony with the parent state. A corporation, whether commercial or proprietary, is, perhaps, the worst of sovereigns. Gain is the object which leads to the formation of those companies, and which constitutes the interest most likely to be fostered. If such a company be wisely administered, its colonists are made subservient to commercial avarice. If, on the other hand, the interests of the company are sacrificed, the colonists, not less than the proprietors, are pillaged for the benefit of faithless agents. Where an individual is the sovereign, there is room for an appeal to magnanimity, to benevolence, to the love of glory; where the privilege of self-government is enjoyed, a permanent interest is sure to gain the ultimate ascendency; but corporate ambition is deaf to mercy, and insensible to shame.

The Virginia colony had been unsuccessful. A settlement had been made; but only after a vast expenditure of money, and a great sacrifice of human life. Angry factions distract unsuccessful institutions; and the London company was now rent by two parties, which were growing more and more imbittered.

1 Burk, i. 275; ii. 37. Hening, i. 123. 153.

CHAP. V. 1623. As the shares in the unproductive stock were of little value, the contests were chiefly for power; and were not so much the wranglings of disappointed merchants, as the struggle of political leaders. The meetings of the company, which now consisted of a thousand adventurers, of whom two hundred or more usually appeared at the quarter courts,[1] were the scenes for freedom of debate, where the patriots, who in parliament advocated the cause of liberty, triumphantly opposed the decrees of the privy council on subjects connected with the rights of Virginia. The unsuccessful party in the company naturally found an ally in the king; it could hope for success only by establishing the supremacy of his prerogative; and the monarch, dissatisfied at having intrusted to others the control of the colony, now desired to recover the influence of which he was deprived by a charter of his own concession. Besides, he disliked the freedom of debate. "The Virginia courts," said Gondemar, the Spanish envoy, to King James, "are but a seminary to a seditious parliament."[2] Yet the people of England, regarding only the failure of their extravagant hopes in the American plantations, took little interest in the progress of the controversy which now grew up between the monarch and the corporation; and the inhabitants of the colony were still more indifferent spectators of the strife, which related, not to their liberties, but to their immediate sovereign.[3] Besides, there was something of retributive justice in the royal proceedings. The present proprietors enjoyed their privileges in consequence of a wrong done to the original patentees,

1 Stith, 282—286.
2 New Description, ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 113.
3 Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, 152, 153.

and now suffered no greater injury than had been before inflicted on others for their benefit.[1] CHAP. V.

At the meeting for the choice of officers, in 1622, King James once more attempted to control the elections, by sending a message, nominating several candidates, out of whom they were to choose their treasurer. The advice of the king was disregarded, and a great majority reëlected the earl of Southampton.[2] Unable to get the control of the company by overawing their assemblies, the monarch now resolved upon the sequestration of the patent; and raised no other question, than how the unjust design could most plausibly be accomplished, and the law of England be made the successful instrument of tyranny. The allegation of grievances, set forth by the court faction in a petition to the king, was fully refuted by the company, and the whole ground of discontent was answered by an explanatory declaration.[3] Yet commissioners were appointed to engage in a general investigation of the concerns of the corporation; the records were seized, the deputy-treasurer imprisoned, and private letters from Virginia intercepted for inspection.[4] Smith was particularly examined; his honest answers plainly exposed the defective arrangements of previous years, and favored the cancelling of the charter as an act of benevolence to the colony.[5] 1622 1623 May 7. 9

The result surprised every one: the king, by an order in council, made known, that the disasters of Virginia were a consequence of the ill government of the company; that he had resolved, by a new charter, to reserve to himself the appointment of the officers Oct.

[1] Smith, ii. 107.
[2] Burk, i. 257.
[3] In Burk, i. 316—330. Stith, 276, 277, and 291—297.
[4] Stith, 298. Burk, i. 268. Rymer, xvii. 490—493.
[5] Smith, ii. 103—108

CHAP. V. 1623. in England, a negative on appointments in Virginia and the supreme control of all colonial affairs. Private interests were to be sacredly preserved; and all grants of land to be renewed and confirmed. Should the company resist the change, its patent would be recalled.[1] This was in substance a proposition to revert to the charter originally granted.

It is difficult to obtain a limitation of authority from a corporate body: an aristocracy is, of all forms of government, the most tenacious of life, and the least Oct. 17. flexible in its purposes. The company heard the order in council with amazement: it was read three several times; and after the reading, for a long while, no man spoke a word. Should they tamely surrender privileges which were conceded according to the forms of law, had been possessed for many years, and had led them to expend large sums of money, that had as yet yielded no return? The corporation was inflexible, for it had no interest to yield. It desired only a month's delay, that all its members might take part in the final decision. The privy council peremptorily Oct. 20. demanded a decisive answer within three days; and, at the expiration of that time, the surrender of the charter was strenuously refused.[2] The liberties of the company were a trust which might be yielded to superior force, but could not be freely abandoned without dishonor.

Oct. 24. But the decision of the king was already taken, and commissioners were appointed to proceed to Virginia, to examine into the state of the plantation, to ascertain what expectations might be conceived, and to discover the means by which good hopes were to

1 Burk, i. 269. Stith, 303—304.
2 Stith, 294—296. Burk, i. 269—271

be realized.[1] John Harvey and Samuel Matthews, both distinguished in the annals of Virginia, were of the number of the committee. CHAP. V. 1623

It now only remained to issue a writ of quo warranto against the company. It was done; and, at the next quarter court, the adventurers, seven only opposing, confirmed the former refusal to surrender the charter, and made preparations for defence.[2] For that purpose, their papers were for a season restored: while they were once more in the hands of the company, they were fortunately copied; and the copy, having been purchased by a Virginian, was consulted by Stith, and gave to his history the authority of an original record.[3] Nov 10. 19.

While these things were transacting in England, the commissioners, early in the year, arrived in the colony A meeting of the general assembly was immediately convened; and, as the company had refuted the allegations of King James, as opposed to their interests, so the colonists replied to them, as contrary to their honor and good name. The principal prayer was, that the governors might not have absolute power; and that the liberty of popular assemblies might be retained; "for," say they, "nothing can conduce more to the public satisfaction and the public utility."[4] To urge this solicitation, an agent was appointed to repair to England. The manner in which the expenses of the mission were borne, marks colonial times and manners, and the universality of the excitement. A tax of four pounds of the best tobacco was levied upon every male who was above sixteen years and had been in the colony 1624

1 Burk, i. 272, and note. Chalmers, 62. 76.

2 Stith, 298, 299.

3 Burk, i. 274. Hening, i. 76.

4 Burk, i. 276, 277.

CHAP. V. a twelvemonth.[1] The commissioner unfortunately died on his passage to Europe.[2]

1624. The spirit of liberty had planted itself deeply among the Virginians. It had been easier to root out the staple produce of their plantations, than to wrest from them their established franchises. The movements of their government display the spirit of the place and the aptitude of the English colonies for liberty. A faithless clerk, who had been suborned by one of the commissioners to betray the secret consultations of the Virginians, was promptly punished. In vain was it attempted, by means of intimidation and promises of royal favor, to obtain a petition for the revocation of the charter. It was under that charter, that the assembly was itself convened; and, after prudently rejecting a proposition which might have endangered its own existence, it proceeded to memorable acts of independent legislation.[3]

The rights of property were strictly maintained against arbitrary taxation. "The governor shall not lay any taxes or ympositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levyed and ymployed as the said assembly shall appoynt." Thus Virginia, the oldest colony, was the first to set the example of a just and firm legislation on the management of the public money. We shall see others imitate the example, which could not be excelled. The rights of personal liberty were likewise asserted, and the power of the executive, circumscribed. The several governors had in vain attempted, by penal statutes, to promote the culture of corn; the true remedy was now discovered

1 Hening, i. 128, Act 35.

2 Burk, i. 277.

3 Hening, i. 122—128. Burk, i 278—286. Stith, 318—322.

by the colonial legislature. "For the encouragement of men to plant store of corn, the price shall not be stinted, but it shall be free for every man to sell it as deare as he can." The reports of controversies in England, rendered it necessary to provide for the public tranquillity by an express enactment, "that no person within the colony, upon the rumor of supposed change and alteration, presume to be disobedient to the present government." The law was dictated by the emergency of the times; and, during the struggle in London, the administration of Virginia was based upon a popular decree. These laws, so judiciously framed, show how readily, with the aid of free discussion, men become good legislators on their own concerns; for wise legislation is the enacting of proper laws at proper times; and no criterion is so nearly infallible as the fair representation of the interests to be affected. CHAP. V. 1624

While the commissioners were urging the Virginians to renounce their right to the privileges which they exercised so well, the English parliament assembled; and a gleam of hope revived in the company, as it forwarded an elaborate petition[1] to the grand inquest of the kingdom. It is a sure proof of the unpopularity of the corporation, that it met with no support from the commons;[2] but Sir Edwin Sandys, more intent on the welfare of Virginia than the existence of the company, was able to secure for the colonial staple complete protection against foreign tobacco, by a petition of grace,[3] which was followed by a royal proclamation.[4] Sept. 29
The people of England could not have given a more earnest proof of their disposition to foster the plantations

[1] Stith, 324—328.

[2] Chalmers, 65, 66. Burk, i. 291.

[3] Stith, 328, refers to the nine grievances; erroneously. See Cobbett's Parl. Hist. i. 1489—1497. The commons acted by petition. Hazard, i. 193.

[4] Hazard, i. 193—198.

CHAP. V. in America, than by restraining all competition in their own market for the benefit of the American planter.

1624. Meantime, the commissioners arrived from the colony, and made their report to the king.[1] They enumerated the disasters which had befallen the infant settlement; they eulogized the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the climate; they aggravated the neglect of the company in regard to the encouragement of staple commodities; they esteemed the plantations of great national importance, and an honorable monument of the reign of King James; they expressed a preference for the original constitution of 1606; they declared, that the alteration of the charter to so popular a course, and so many hands, referring, not to the colonial franchises, but to the democratic form of the London company, could lead only to confusion and contention; and they promised prosperity only by a recurrence to the original instructions of the monarch.

June Now, therefore, nothing but the judicial decision remained. The decree, which was to be pronounced by judges who held their office by the tenure of the royal pleasure,[2] could not long remain doubtful; at the Trinity term of the ensuing year, judgment was given against the treasurer and company,[3] and the patents were cancelled.

Thus the company was dissolved. It had fulfilled its high destinies; it had confirmed the colonization of Virginia, and had conceded a liberal form of govern-

[1] Hazard, i. 190, 191. Burk, i. 291, 292.

[2] Story's Com. i. 27.

[3] Stith, 329, 330, doubts if judgment were passed. The doubt may be removed. "Before the end of the same term, a judgment was declared by the Lord Chief Justice Ley against the company and their charter, only upon a failer, or mistake in pleading." See a Short Collection of the most Remarkable Passages from the Originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company; London, 1651, p. 15. See, also, Hazard, i. 191; Chalmers, 62; Proud's Pennsylvania, i. 107.

ment to Englishmen in America. It could accomplish no more. The members were probably willing to escape from a concern which promised no emolument, and threatened an unprofitable strife; the public acquiesced in the fall of a corporation which had of late maintained but a sickly and hopeless existence; and it was clearly perceived, that a body rent by internal factions, and opposed by the whole force of the English court, could never succeed in fostering Virginia. The fate of the London company found little sympathy; in the domestic government and franchises of the colony, it produced no immediate change. Sir Francis Wyatt, though he had been an ardent friend of the London company, was confirmed in office; and he and his council, far from being rendered absolute, were only empowered to govern "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This term of five years was precisely the period of representative government; and the limitation could not but be interpreted as sanctioning the continuance of popular assemblies. The king, in appointing the council in Virginia, refused to nominate the imbittered partisans of the court faction, but formed the administration on the principles of accommodation.[1] The vanity of the monarch claimed the opportunity of establishing for the colony a code of fundamental laws; but death prevented the royal legislator from attempting the task, which would have furnished his self-complacency so grateful an occupation.

CHAP V. 1624 Aug 26. 1625 Mar 27

1 Hazard, i. 189. 192. Burk, ii. 11, from ancient records.

CHAPTER VI

RESTRICTIONS ON COLONIAL COMMERCE

CHAP VI. 1625 Mar. 27. ASCENDING the throne in his twenty-fifth year, Charles I. inherited the principles and was governed by the favorite of his father. The rejoicings in consequence of his recent nuptials, the reception of his bride, and preparations for a parliament, left him little leisure for American affairs. Virginia was esteemed by the monarch as the country producing tobacco, its inhabitants were valued at court as planters, and prized according to the revenue derived from the staple of their industry. The plantation, no longer governed by a chartered company, was become a royal province and an object of favor; and, as it enforced conformity to the church of England, it could not be an object of suspicion to the clergy or the court. The king felt an earnest desire to heal old grievances, to secure the personal rights and property of the colonists, and to promote their prosperity. Franchises were neither conceded nor restricted; for it did not occur to his pride, that, at that time, there could be in an American province any thing like established privileges or vigorous political life; nor was he aware that the seeds of liberty were already germinating on the borders of the April 9. Chesapeake. His first Virginian measure was a proclamation on tobacco; confirming to Virginia and the Somer Isles the exclusive supply of the British market,

under penalty of the censure of the star-chamber for disobedience. In a few days, a new proclamation appeared, in which it was his evident design to secure the profits that might before have been engrossed by the corporation. After a careful declaration of the forfeiture of the charters, and consequently of the immediate dependence of Virginia upon himself, a declaration aimed against the claims of the London company, and not against the franchises of the colonists, the monarch proceeded to announce his fixed resolution of becoming, through his agents, the sole factor of the planters. Indifferent to their constitution, it was his principal aim to monopolize the profits of their industry; and the political rights of Virginia were established as usages by his salutary neglect.[1] CHAP. VI. 1625 May 13.

There is no room to suppose that Charles nourished the design of suppressing the colonial assemblies. For some months, the organization of the government was not changed; and when Wyatt retired, Sir George 1626. Yeardley was appointed his successor. This appointment was in itself a guaranty, that, as "the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate,"[2] so the representative government, the chief political interest, would be maintained; for it was Yeardley who had had the glory of introducing the system. In the Mar. 4. commission now issued,[3] the monarch expressed his desire to benefit, encourage and perfect the plantation; "the same means, that were formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the colony," were continued; and the power of the governor and council was limited, as

1 Hazard, i. 202—205. Burk, ii. 14, 15.
2 Letter of the privy council, in Burk, ii. 18.
3 Hazard, i. 230—234.

CHAP. VI. it had before been done in the commission of Wyatt, by a reference to the usages of the last five years. In that period, representative liberty had become the custom of Virginia. The words were interpreted as favoring the wishes of the colonists; and King Charles, intent only on increasing his revenue, confirmed, perhaps unconsciously, the existence of a popular assembly. The colony prospered; Virginia rose rapidly
1627. in public estimation; in one year, a thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for all the products of the soil.

Nov. The career of Yeardley was now closed by death. Posterity will ever retain a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western hemisphere; the colonists, announcing his decease in a letter to the privy council, gave at the same time a eulogy on his virtues; the surest evidence
Nov. 14. of his fidelity to their interests.[1] The day after his burial, Francis West was elected his successor;[2] for the council was authorized to elect the governor, "from time to time, as often as the case shall require."[3]

1627. But if any doubts existed of the royal assent to the continuance of colonial assemblies, they were soon re-
Aug. 24. moved by a letter of instructions, which the king addressed to the governor and council. After much caviling, in the style of a purchaser who undervalues the wares which he wishes to buy, the monarch arrives at his main purpose, and offers to contract for the whole crop of tobacco; desiring, at the same time, that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal.[4] This is the first recognition, on the part of a Stuart, of a representative assembly in America

1 Burk, ii. 22, 23.
2 Hening, i. 4.
3 Hazard i. 233.
4 Burk, ii. 19, 20. Hening, i. 129.

Hitherto, the king had, fortunately for the colony, found no time to take order for its government. His zeal for an exclusive contract led him to observe and to sanction the existence of an elective legislature. The assembly, in its answer, acquiesced in the royal monopoly, but protested against its being farmed out to individuals. The independent reply of the assembly was signed by the governor, by five members of the council, and by thirty-one burgesses. The Virginians, happier than the people of England, enjoyed a faithful representative government, and, through the resident planters who composed the council, they repeatedly elected their own governor. When West designed to embark for Europe, his place was supplied by election.[1]

CHAP. VI.

1628. Mar. 26.

No sooner had the news of the death of Yeardley reached England, than the king proceeded to issue a commission[2] to John Harvey. The tenor of the instrument offered no invasions of colonial freedom; but while it renewed the limitations which had previously been set to the executive authority, it permitted the council in Virginia, which had common interests with the people, to supply all vacancies occurring in their body. In this way direct oppression was rendered impossible.

1628

It was during the period which elapsed between the appointment of Harvey and his appearance in America, that Lord Baltimore visited Virginia. The zeal of religious bigotry pursued him as a Romanist;[3] and the intolerant jealousy of Popery led to memorable results. Nor should we, in this connection, forget the hospitable plans of the southern planters; the people

1629

1 Hening, i. 134—137. Burk, i. 24.

2 Hazard, i. 234—239.

3 Records, in Burk, ii. 24, 25 Hening, i. 552.

CHAP. VI. of New Plymouth were invited to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England, and plant themselves in the milder regions on the Delaware Bay;[1] a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia.

It was probably in the autumn of 1629 that Harvey arrived in Virginia.[2] Till October, the name of Pott
1630 Mar 24. appears as governor; Harvey met his first assembly of burgesses in the following March.[3] He had for several years been a member of the council; and as, at a former day, he had been a willing instrument in the hands of the faction to which Virginia ascribed its earliest griefs, and continued to bear a deep-rooted hostility, his appointment could not but be unpopular.
1630 to 1635. The colony had esteemed it a special favor from King James, that, upon the substitution of the royal authority for the corporate supremacy, the government had been intrusted to impartial agents; and, after the death of Yeardley, two successive chief magistrates had been elected in Virginia. The appointment of Harvey implied a change of power among political parties; it gave authority to a man whose connections in England were precisely those which the colony regarded with the utmost aversion. As his first appearance in America, in 1624, had been with no friendly designs, so now he was the support of those who desired large grants of land and unreasonable concessions of separate jurisdictions; and he preferred the interests of himself, his partisans and patrons, to the welfare and quiet of the colony. The extravagant language, which exhibited him as a tyrant, without specifying his crimes, was the natural hyperbole of po-

[1] Burk, ii. 32.
[2] Chalmers, 118.
[3] Hening, i. 4, and 147.

litical excitement; and when historians, receiving the account, and interpreting tyranny to mean arbitrary taxation, drew the inference that he convened no assemblies, trifled with the rights of property, and levied taxes according to his caprice, they were betrayed into extravagant errors. Such a procedure would have been impossible. He had no soldiers at his command; no obsequious officers to enforce his will; and the Virginians would never have made themselves the instruments of their own oppression. The party opposed to Harvey was deficient neither in capacity nor in colonial influence; and while arbitrary power was rapidly advancing to triumph in England, the Virginians, during the whole period, enjoyed the benefit of independent colonial legislation;[1] through the agency of their representatives, they levied and appropriated all taxes,[2] secured the free industry of their citizens,[3] guarded the forts with their own soldiers, at their own

CHAP. VI.

1630 to 1635

[1] As an opposite statement has received the sanction, not of Oldmixon, Chalmers, and Robertson only, but of Marshall and of Story (see Story's Commentaries, i. 28, "without the slightest effort to convene a colonial assembly"), I deem it necessary to state, that many of the statutes of Virginia under Harvey still exist, and that, though many others are lost, the first volume of Hening's Statutes at Large proves, beyond a question, that assemblies were convened, at least, as often as follows:—

1630, March,	Hening, i.	147—153.
1630 April,	ibid.	257.
1632, February,	ibid.	153—177.
1632, September	ibid.	178—202.
1633, February,	ibid.	202—209.
1633, August,	ibid.	209—222.
1634,	ibid.	223.
1635,	ibid.	223.
1636,	ibid.	229.
1637,	ibid.	227.
1639,	ibid.	229—230.
1640,	Hening, i.	268.
1641, June,	ibid.	259—262.
1642, January,	ibid.	267.
1642, April,	ibid.	230.
1642, June,	ibid.	269.

Considering how imperfect are the early records, it is surprising that so considerable a list can be established. The instructions to Sir William Berkeley do not first order assemblies; but speak of them as of a thing established. At an adjourned session of Berkeley's first legislature, the assembly declares "its meeting exceeding *customary* limits, in this place *used*." Hening, i. 236. This is a plain declaration, that assemblies were the custom and use of Virginia at the time of Berkeley's arrival. If any doubts remain, it would be easy to multiply arguments and references. Burk, ii. App. xlix. li.

[2] Hening, i. 171, Act 38.

[3] Ibid. 172, Act 40.

CHAP. VI.

1630 to 1635.

charge,[1] and gave to their statutes the greatest possible publicity.[2] When the defects and inconveniences of infant legislation were remedied by a revised code, which was published with the approbation of the governor and council,[3] all the privileges which the assembly had ever claimed, were carefully confirmed.[4] Indeed, they seem never to have been questioned.

1635 Yet the administration of Harvey was disturbed by divisions, which grew out of other causes than infringements of the constitution. De Vries, who visited Virginia in 1632–3, had reason to praise the advanced condition of the settlement, the abundance of its products, and the liberality of its governor.[5] The community would hardly have been much disturbed because fines were exacted with too relentless rigor;[6] but the whole colony of Virginia was in a state of excitement and alarm in consequence of the dismemberment of its territory by the cession to Lord Baltimore. As in many of the earlier settlements, questions about land-titles were agitated with passion; and there was reason to apprehend the increase of extravagant grants, that would again include the soil on which plantations had already been made without the acquisition of an indisputable legal claim. In Maryland, the first occupants had refused to submit, and a skirmish had ensued, in which the blood of Europeans was shed for the first time on the waters of the Chesapeake; and Clayborne, defeated and banisned from Maryland as a murderer[7] and an outlaw, sheltered himself in Virginia, where he had long been a member of the coun-

1 Hening, 175, Acts 57 and 58.
2 Ibid. 177, Act 68.
3 Ibid. 179.
4 Ibid. 180—202. See, particularly, Acts 34, 35, 36. 39. 46. 57, 58. 61.
5 De Vries, Korte Historiael ende Journals—a rare work, which Ebeling had never seen.
6 Beverley, 48. Bullock, 10.
7 Hammond's Leah and Rachel.

cil. There the contest was renewed; and Harvey, far from attempting to enforce the claims of Virginia, against the royal grant, courted the favor of Baltimore. The colonists were indignant that their governor should thus, as it seemed to them, betray their interests; and as the majority of the council favored their wishes, "Sir John Harvey was thrust out of his government; and Captain John West appointed to the office, till the king's pleasure be known." An assembly was summoned in May, to receive complaints against Harvey; but he had in the mean time consented to go to England, and there meet his accusers.[1] CHAP. VI.

1636 The commissioners appointed by the council to manage the impeachment of Harvey, met with no favor in England, and were not even admitted to a hearing.[2] Harvey immediately reäppeared to occupy his former station; and was followed by a new commission, by which his powers were still limited to such as had been exercised during the period of legislative freedom. General assemblies continued to be held; but the vacancies in the council, which had been filled in Virginia, were henceforward to be supplied by appointment in England.[3] Harvey remained in office till 1639.[4] The complaints which have been brought against him, will be regarded with some degree of distrust, when it is considered, that the public mind

Jan. 3.

[1] Hening, i. 223, and 4. Oldmixon, i. 240. Oldmixon is unworthy of implicit trust. Beverley, 48, is not accurate. Campbell's Virginia, 60—a modest little book. Chalmers, 118, 119, is betrayed into error by following Oldmixon. Burk, ii. 41, 42. Bullock's Virginia, 10. Robertson, in his History of Virginia, after the dissolution of the company, furnishes a tissue of inventions. Keith, 143, 144, places in 1639 the occurrences of 1635. His book is superficial.

[2] Burk, ii. 45. Yet Burk corrected but half the errors of his predecessors.

[3] Hazard, i. 400—403.

[4] Campbell, 61. Hening, i. 4.

CHAP. VI. of the colony, during his administration, was controlled by a party which pursued him with implacable hostility. In April, 1642, two months only after the accession of Berkeley, a public document declares the comparative happiness of the colony under the royal government; a declaration which would hardly have been made, if Virginia had so recently and so long been smarting under intolerable oppression.[1]

1639. Nov. At length he was superseded, and Sir Francis Wyatt[2] appointed in his stead. Early in the next
1640. Jan. year, he convened a general assembly. History has recorded many instances where a legislature has altered the scale of debts: in modern times, it has frequently been done by debasing the coin, or by introducing paper money. In Virginia, debts had been contracted to be paid in tobacco; and when the article rose in value, in consequence of laws restricting its culture, the legislature of Virginia did not scruple to provide a remedy, by enacting that "no man need pay more than two thirds of his debt during the stint;" and that all creditors should take "forty pounds for a hundred."[3] The artificial increase of the value of tobacco seemed to require a corresponding change in the tariff of debts.[4]

1641. Aug. 9. After two years, a commission[5] was issued to Sir William Berkeley. Historians, reasoning, from the revolutions which took place in England, that there had been corresponding attempts at oppression and corresponding resistance in Virginia, have delighted

1 Hening, i. 231.
2 Rymer, xx. 484. Hazard, i. 477. Savage on Winthrop, ii. 160, 161. A note by Savage settles a question. Hening, i. 224, and 4. Campbell, 61. But Keith, and Beverly, and Chalmers, and Burk, and Marshall, were ignorant of such a governor as Wyatt, in 1639, and represent Berkeley as the immediate successor of Harvey.
3 Hening, i. 225, 226.
4 Brockenbrough's Virginia, 586.
5 Hazard, i. 477—480. Rymer xx. 484—486.

to draw a contrast, not only between Harvey and the new governor, but between the institutions of Virginia under their respective governments; and Berkeley is said to have "restored the system of freedom," and to have "effected an essential revolution."[1] I cannot find that his appointment was marked by the slightest concession of new political privileges, except that the council recovered the right of supplying its own vacancies; and the historians, who make an opposite statement, are wholly ignorant of the intermediate administration of Wyatt; a government so suited to the tastes and habits of the planters, that it passed silently away, leaving almost no impression on Virginia history, except in its statutes. The commission of Berkeley was exactly analogous to those of his predecessors.

CHAP. VI. 1641

The instructions[2] given him, far from granting franchises to the Virginians, imposed most severe and unwarrantable restrictions on the liberty of trade; and, by the prerogative, England claimed that monopoly of colonial commerce, which was ultimately enforced by the navigation act of Charles II., and which never ceased to be a subject of dispute till the war of independence. The nature of those instructions will presently be explained.

It was in February, 1642, that Sir William Berkeley, arriving in the colony, assumed the government. 1642. His arrival must have been nearly simultaneous with the adjournment of the general assembly, which was held in the preceding January.[3] He found the American planters in possession of a large share of the legis-

1 Chalmers, 120, 121.
2 Ibid. 131—133.
3 The acts of that session are lost, but are referred to in Hening, i. 267—269, in the acts 49, 50, 51, 52. The statutes, of course, call the year 1641, as the year then began in March.

CHAP. VI. 1642 Mar lative authority; and he confirmed them in the enjoyment of franchises which a long and uninterrupted succession had rendered familiar. Immediately after his arrival, he convened the colonial legislature. The utmost harmony prevailed; the memory of factions was lost in a general amnesty of ancient griefs. The lapse of years had so far effaced the divisions which grew out of the dissolution of the company, that when George Sandys, an agent of the colony, and an opponent of the royal party in England, presented a petition to the commons, praying for the restoration of the ancient patents,[1] the royalist assembly promptly disavowed the design, and, after a full debate, opposed it by a solemn protest.[2] (April 1) The whole document breathes the tone of a body accustomed to public discussion and the independent exercise of legislative power. They assert the necessity of the freedom of trade, " for freedom of trade," say they, " is the blood and life of a commonwealth." And they defended their preference of self-government through a colonial legislature, by a conclusive argument. " There is more likelyhood, that such as are acquainted with the clime and its accidents may upon better grounds prescribe our advantages, than such as shall sit at the helm in England."[3] In reply to their urgent petition, the king immediately declared his purpose not to change a form of government in which they "received so much content and satisfaction."[4]

The Virginians, aided by Sir William Berkeley,[5] could now deliberately perfect their civil condition. Condemnations to service had been a usual punish-

1 Chalmers, 121. Hening, i. 230.

2 Hening, i. 230—236. Burk, ii 68—74.

3 Hening, i. 233.

4 Chalmers, 133, 134. Burk, ii. 74.

5 Hammond's Leah and Rache 12.

ment; these were abolished. In the courts of justice, a near approach was made to the laws and customs of England. Religion was provided for; the law about land-titles adjusted; an amicable treaty with Maryland successfully matured; and peace with the Indians confirmed. Taxes were assessed, not in proportion to numbers, but to men's abilities and estates. The spirit of liberty, displayed in the English parliament, was transmitted to America; and the rights of property, the freedom of industry, the solemn exercise of civil franchises, seemed to be secured to themselves and their posterity. "A future immunity from taxes and impositions," except such as should be freely voted for their own wants, "was expected as the fruits of the endeavors of their legislature."[1] As the restraints with which colonial navigation was threatened, were not enforced,[2] they attracted no attention; and Virginia enjoyed nearly all the liberties which a monarch could concede, and retain his supremacy.

CHAP. VI. 1642

Believing themselves secure of all their privileges, the triumph of the popular party in England did not alter the condition or the affections of the Virginians. The commissioners appointed by parliament, with unlimited authority over the plantations,[3] found no favor in Virginia. They promised, indeed, freedom from English taxation; but this immunity was already enjoyed. They gave the colony liberty to choose its own governor; but it had no dislike to Berkeley; and though there was a party for the parliament, yet the king's authority was maintained.[4] The sovereignty of Charles had ever been mildly exercised.

The condition of contending parties in England had

1643 Mar.

1 Hening, i. 237, 238.
2 Chalmers, 124.
3 Hazard, i. 533—535.
4 Winthrop, ii. 159, 160, and the note of Savage.

CHAP. VI. now given to Virginia an opportunity of legislation independent of European control; and the voluntary
1643. act of the assembly, restraining religious liberty, adopted from hostility to political innovation, rather than from a spirit of fanaticism, or respect to instructions, proves conclusively the attachment of the representatives of Virginia to the Episcopal church and the cause of royalty. Yet there had been Puritans in the colony almost from the beginning: even the Brownists were freely offered a secure asylum;[1] "here," said the tolerant Whitaker, "neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of," and several Puritan families, and perhaps[2] some even of the Puritan clergy, emigrated to Virginia. They were so content with their reception, that large
1619. numbers were preparing to follow, and were restrained only by the forethought of English intolerance.[3] We have seen, that the Pilgrims at Plymouth were invited
1629. to remove within the jurisdiction of Virginia; Puritan merchants planted themselves on the James River
1640. without fear, and emigrants from Massachusetts had recently established themselves in the colony. The honor of Laud had been vindicated by a judicial sentence,[4] and south of the Potomac the decrees of the court of high commission were allowed to be valid; but I find no traces of persecutions in the earliest history of Virginia. The laws were harsh: the adminis tration seems to have been mild. A disposition to non conformity was soon to show itself even in the council. An invitation, which had been sent to Boston for Puritan ministers, implies a belief that they would be ad-

1 Bradford, in Prince.

2 "I muse that *so few* of our English ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription, come hither, where neither is spoken of." Whitaker, in Purchas, b. ix. c. xi.

3 Compare Grahame, i. 219; Hawks, i. 35.

4 Hening, i. 552. Burk. ii. 67

mitted in Virginia. But now the democratic revolution in England had given an immediate political importance to religious sects: to tolerate Puritanism was to nurse a republican party. It was, therefore, specially ordered that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the constitutions of the church of England,[1] and non-conformists were banished from the colony. The unsocial spirit of political discord, fostering a mutual intolerance, prevented a frequent intercourse between Virginia and New England. It was in vain that the ministers, invited from Boston by the Puritan settlements in Virginia, carried letters from Winthrop, written to Berkeley and his council by order of the general court of Massachusetts. "The hearts of the people were much inflamed with desire after the ordinances;" but the missionaries were silenced by the government, and ordered to leave the country.[2] Sir William Berkeley was "a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of the churches" in New England.

CHAP. VI.

1643 Mar.

While Virginia thus displayed, though with comparatively little bitterness, the intolerance which for centuries had almost universally prevailed throughout the Christian world, a scene of distress was prepared by the vindictive ferocity of the natives, with whom a state of hostility had been of long continuance. In 1643, it was enacted by the assembly, that no terms of peace should be entertained with the Indians; whom it was usual to distress by sudden marches against their settlements. But the Indians had now heard of the dissensions in England, and taking counsel of their passions, rather than of their prudence, they re- 1644

[1] Act 64, Hening, i. 277.

[2] Winthrop's Journal, ii. 77, 78. 95, 96, and 164, 165. Hubbard's New England, 410 411. Johnson, b. iii. c. xi. in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 29. Hening, i. 275

CHAP. VI. 1644. solved on one more attempt at a general massacre believing that, by midnight incursions, the destruction of the cattle and the fields of corn, they might succeed in famishing the remnant of the colonists whom they should not be able to murder by surprise. On the eighteenth day of April,[1] the time appointed for the carnage, the unexpected onset was begun upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had the Indians steeped their hands in blood, before they were dismayed by the recollection of their own comparative weakness; and, trembling for the consequences of their treachery, they feared to continue their design, and fled to a distance from the colony. The number of victims had been three hundred. Measures were promptly taken by the English for protection and defence; and a war was vigorously conducted. The aged Opechancanough was taken, yet not till 1646; and the venerated monarch of the sons of the forest, so long the undisputed lord of almost boundless hunting grounds, died in miserable captivity of wounds inflicted by a brutal soldier. In his last moments, he chiefly regretted his exposure to the contemptuous gaze of his enemies.[2]

So little was apprehended, when the English were once on their guard, that, two months after the massacre, Berkeley embarked for England, leaving Richard Kemp as his successor.[3] A border warfare continued; marches up and down the Indian country were ordered; yet so weak were the natives, that though the

1 The reader is cautioned against the inaccuracies of Beverley, Oldmixon, and, on this subject, of Burk. See Winthrop's Journal, ii. 165. Compare the note of Savage, whose sagacious conjecture is confirmed in Hening, i. 290, Act 4, session of February, 1645.

2 On the massacre, there are three contemporary guides: the statutes of the time, in Hening, i.; The Perfect Description of Virginia, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 115—117; and the Reports of the exiled Puritans, in Winthrop, ii. 165.

3 Hening, i. 4. 282, and 286.

careless traveller and the straggling huntsman were long in danger of being intercepted,[1] yet ten men were considered a sufficient force to protect a place of danger.[2] CHAP VI.

About fifteen months after Berkeley's return from England, articles of peace were established between the inhabitants of Virginia and Necotowance, the successor of Opechancanough.[3] Submission and a cession of lands were the terms on which the treaty was purchased by the original possessors of the soil, who now began to vanish away from the immediate vicinity of the settlements of their too formidable invaders. It is one of the surprising results of moral power, that language, composed of fleeting sounds, retains and transmits the remembrance of past occurrences, long after every other monument has passed away. Of the labors of the Indians on the soil of Virginia, there remains nothing so respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands;[4] the memorials of their former existence are found only in the names of the rivers and the mountains. Unchanging nature retains the appellations which were given by those whose villages have disappeared, and whose tribes have become extinct. 1646 Oct.

Thus the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns; war was levied, and peace concluded, and territory acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staple, and, practically, all the rights of an independent state, having England for its guar-

1 Hening, i. 300, 301, Act 3.
2 Ibid. 285, 286, Act 5.
3 Ibid. 323—326. Compare Drake's Indian Biography, b. iv. 22—24; Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, b. iii. c. xi.
4 Jefferson's Notes, 132.

CHAP. VI. dian against foreign oppression, rather than its ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin
1646. soil, equal laws, and general uniformity of condition and industry, could bestow. Their numbers increased; the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants. At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia, ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England.[1] The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand; and they, who had sustained no griefs, were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided. They were attached to the cause of Charles, not because they loved monarchy, but because they cherished the liberties of which he had left them in the undis-
1649 turbed possession; and, after his execution, though there were not wanting some who, from ignorance, as the royalists affirmed, favored republicanism, the government recognized his son[2] without dispute. The disasters of the Cavaliers in England strengthened the party in the New World. Men of consideration "among the nobility, gentry, and clergy," struck "with horror and despair" at the execution of Charles I., and desiring no reconciliation with the unrelenting "rebels," made their way to the shores of the Chesapeake, where every house was for them a "hostelry," and every planter a friend. The mansion and the purse of Berkeley were open to all; and at the hospitable dwellings that were scattered along the rivers and among the wilds of Virginia, the Cavaliers, exiles like their monarch, met in frequent groups to recount their toils, to sigh over defeats, and to nourish

1 New Description of Virginia, 15, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 118.
2 Hening, i. 359, 360, Act 1.

loyalty and hope.[1] The faithfulness of the Virginians did not escape the attention of the royal exile; from his retreat in Breda he transmitted to Berkeley a new commission;[2] he still controlled the distribution of offices, and, amidst his defeats in Scotland,[3] still remembered with favor the faithful Cavaliers in the western world. Charles the Second, a fugitive from England, was still the sovereign of Virginia. "Virginia was whole for monarchy, and the last country, belonging to England, that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth."[4]

CHAP VI.

1650 June.

But the parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. Having, by the vigorous energy and fearless enthusiasm of republicanism, triumphed over all its enemies in Europe, it turned its attention to the colonies; and a memorable ordinance[5] at once empowered the council of state to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, established it as a law, that foreign ships should not trade at any of the ports "in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia." Maryland, which was not expressly included in the ordinance, had taken care to acknowledge the new order of things;[6] and Massachusetts, alike unwilling to encounter the hostility of parliament, and jealous of the rights of independent legislation, by its own enactment, prohibited all intercourse with Virginia, till the supremacy of the commonwealth should be established; although the order, when it was found to be injurious to commerce, was

Oct. 3.

1651 May 7.

1 Norwood, in Churchill, vi. 160—186. Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 16.
2 Chalmers, 122.
3 Norwood, in Ch., vi. 186.
4 Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 20; Ed. 1656.
5 Hazard, i. 637, 638. Parliamentary History, iii. 1357. The commentary of Chalmers, p. 123, is that of a partisan lawyer.
6 Langford's Refutation, 6, 7

CHAP. VI. 1651. Oct. 14.

promptly repealed, even whilst royalty still triumphed at Jamestown.[1] But would Virginia resist the fleet of the republic? Were its royalist principles so firm, that they would animate the colony to a desperate war with England? The lovers of monarchy indulged the hope, that the victories of their friends in the Chesapeake would redeem the disgrace, that had elsewhere fallen on the royal arms; many partisans of Charles had come over as to a place of safety; and the honest Governor Berkeley, than whom "no man meant better," was so confirmed in his confidence, that he wrote to the king, almost inviting him to America.[2] The approach of the day of trial was watched with the deepest interest.

But while the preparations were yet making for the reduction of the colonies, which still preserved an appearance of loyalty, the commercial policy of England underwent an important revision, and the new system, as it was based upon the permanent interests of English merchants and ship-builders, obtained a consistency and durability which could never have been gained by the feeble selfishness of the Stuarts.

It is the ancient fate of colonies to be planted by the daring of the poor and the hardy; to struggle into being through the severest trials; to be neglected by the parent country during the season of poverty and weakness; to thrive by the unrestricted application of their powers and enterprise; and by their consequent prosperity to tempt oppression. The Greek colonies early attained opulence and strength, because they were always free; the new people at its birth was independent, and remained so; the emigrants were dismissed, not as servants but as equals. They were

[1] Hazard, i. 553 and 558.

[2] Clarendon, b. xiii. iii. 466.

the natural, not the necessary, allies of the mother country. They spoke the same dialect, revered the same gods, cherished the same customs and laws; but they were politically independent. Freedom, stimulating exertion, invited them to stretch their settlements from the shores of the Euxine to the Western Mediterranean, and urged them forward to wealth and prosperity, commensurate with their boldness and the vast extent of their domains. The colonies of Carthage, on the contrary, had no sooner attained sufficient consideration to merit attention, than the mother state insisted upon a monopoly of their commerce. The colonial system is as old as colonies and the spirit of commercial gain and political oppression.[1]

No sooner had Spain and Portugal entered on maritime discovery, and found their way round the Cape of Good Hope and to America, than a monopoly of the traffic of the world was desired. Greedily covetous of the whole, they could with difficulty agree upon a division, not of a conquered province, the banks of a river, a neighboring territory, but of the oceans, and the commerce of every people and empire along the wide margin of their waters. They claimed that, on the larger seas, the winds should blow only to fill their sails; that the islands and continents of Asia, of Africa, and the New World, should be fertile only to freight the ships of their merchants; and, having denounced the severest penalties against any who should infringe the rights which they claimed, they obtained the sanction of religion to adjust their differences, and to bar the ocean against the intrusion of competitors.[2]

1 Brougham's Colonial Policy, i. 21—23. Dionysius Halicarnassus, l. iii. But of all on the subject, Heeren, xiii. 96—98

2 Bull of Alexander VI., May 4, 1493. "Sub excommunicationis latæ sententiæ pœna," &c.

The effects of this severity are pregnant with instruction. Direct commerce with the Spanish settlements was punished by the Spaniards with confiscation and the threat of eternal wo. The moral sense of mariners revolted at the extravagance: since forfeiture, imprisonment, and excommunication, were to follow the attempt at the fair exchanges of trade; since the freebooter and the pirate could not suffer more than was menaced against the merchant who should disregard the maritime monopoly,—the seas became infested by reckless bucaniers, the natural offspring of colonial restrictions. Rich Spanish settlements in America were pillaged; fleets attacked and captured; predatory invasions were even made on land to intercept the loads of gold, as they came from the mines; and men, who might have acquired honor and wealth in commerce, if commerce had been permitted, now displayed a sagacity of contrivance, coolness of execution, and capacity for enduring hardships, which won them the admiration of their contemporaries, and, in a better cause, would have won them the perpetual praises of the world.

In Europe, the freedom of the sea was vindicated against the claims of Spain and Portugal by a nation, hardly yet recognized as an independent state, occupying a soil, of which much had been redeemed by industry, and driven by the stern necessity of a dense population to seek for resources upon the sea. The most gifted of her sons, who first gave expression to the idea, that "free ships make free goods,"[1] defended the liberty of commerce, and appealed to the judgment of all free governments and nations against the

[1] Grotius, Epist. ccvii.; "aliorum bella obstare commerciorum libertati non debere."

maritime restrictions, which humanity denounced as contrary to the principles of social intercourse; which justice derided as infringing the clearest natural rights; which enterprise rejected as a monstrous usurpation of the ocean and the winds. The relinquishment of navigation in the East Indies was required as the price at which her independence should be acknowledged, and she preferred to defend her separate existence by her arms, rather than purchase security by circumscribing the courses of her ships. The nation, which by its position was compelled to acquire skill in commerce, and, in its resistance to monopoly, was forced by competition to obtain an advantage, succeeded in gaining the maritime ascendency. While the inglorious James of England, immersed in vanity and pedantry, was negotiating about points of theology; while the more unhappy Charles was wasting his strength in vain struggles against the liberties of his subjects,—the Dutch, a little confederacy, which had been struck from the side of the vast empire of Spain, a new people, scarcely known as possessed of nationality, had, by their superior skill, begun to engross the carrying trade of the world. Their ships were soon to be found in the harbors of Virginia; in the West Indian archipelago; in the south of Africa; among the tropical islands of the Indian Ocean; and even in the remote harbors of China and Japan. Already their trading-houses were planted on the Hudson and the coast of Guinea, in Java and Brazil. One or two rocky islets in the West Indies, in part neglected by the Spaniards as unworthy of culture, were occupied by these daring merchants, and furnished a convenient shelter for a large contraband traffic with the terra firma. So great was the naval success of Holland,

CHAP. VI. that it engrossed the commerce of the European nations themselves; English mariners sought employment in Dutch vessels, with which the ports of England were filled; English ships lay rotting at the wharves; English ship-building was an unprofitable vocation. The freedom and the enterprise of Holland had acquired maritime power, and skill, and wealth, such as the vast monopoly of Spain had never been able to command.

The causes of the commercial greatness of Holland were forgotten in envy at her success. She ceased to appear as the antagonist of Spain, and the gallant champion of the freedom of the seas; she was now envied as the successful rival. The eloquence of Grotius was neglected, as well as the pretensions of Spain disregarded; and the English government resolved to protect the English merchant. Cromwell desired to confirm the maritime power of his country; and St. John, a Puritan and a republican in theory, though never averse to a limited monarchy, devised the first act of navigation, which the politic Whitelocke in-
1651. troduced and carried through parliament. Henceforward, the commerce between England and her colonies, as well as between England and the rest of the world was to be conducted in ships solely owned, and principally manned, by Englishmen. Foreigners might bring to England nothing but the products of their own respective countries, or those of which their countries were the established staples. The act was leveled against Dutch commerce, and was but a protection of British shipping; it contained not one clause relating to a colonial monopoly, or specially injurious to an American colony. Of itself it inflicted no wound on Virginia or New England. In vain did the Dutch

expostulate against the act as a breach of commercial amity; the parliament studied the interests of England, and would not repeal laws to please a neighbor.[1] CHAP. VI.

A naval war soon followed, which Cromwell eagerly desired, and Holland as earnestly endeavored to avoid. The spirit of each people was kindled with the highest national enthusiasm; the commerce of the world was the prize contended for; the ocean was the scene of the conflict; and the annals of recorded time had never known so many great naval actions in such quick succession. This was the war in which Blake, and Ayscue, and De Ruyter, gained their glory; and Tromp fixed a broom to his mast in bravado, as if to sweep the English flag from the seas. 1652.

Cromwell was not disposed to trammel the industry of Virginia, and Maryland, and New England. His ambition aspired to make England the commercial emporium of the world. His plans extended to the possession of the harbors in the Spanish Netherlands; France was obliged to pledge her aid to conquer, and her consent to yield Dunkirk, Mardyke and Gravelines; and Dunkirk, in the summer of 1658, was given up to his ambassador by the French king in person. Nor was this all: he desired the chief harbors in the North Sea, and the Baltic; and an alliance with Sweden, made not simply from a zeal for Protestantism, was to secure him Bremen, and Elsinore, 1657.
and Dantzig, as his reward.[2] In the West Indies, his commanders planned the capture of Jamaica, which 1655
succeeded; and the attempt at the reduction of Hispaniola, then the chief possession of Spain among the

1 Clarendon, b. xiii. Parl. History, iii. 1374, 5, 8. Godwin, iii. 381–2. Heeren, i. 156.

2 Thurloe, vi. 478. Heeren's Works, i. 158.

CHAP. VI. islands, failed only through the incompetency or want of concert of his agents.

It is as the rival of Holland, the successful antagonist of Spain, the protector of English shipping, that Cromwell laid claims to glory. The crown passed from the brow of his sons; his wide plans for the possession of commercial places on the continent were defeated; Dunkirk was restored; the monarchy, which he subverted, was reëstablished; the nobility, which he humbled, recovered its pride:—Jamaica and the Act of Navigation were the surviving monuments of Cromwell.

The protection of English shipping, thus permanently established as a part of the British commercial policy, was the successful execution of a scheme, which many centuries before had been prematurely attempted. A new and a still less justifiable encouragement was soon demanded, and English merchants began to insist upon the entire monopoly of the commerce of the colonies. This question had but recently been agitated in parliament. It was within the few last years, that England had acquired colonies; and as, at first, they were thought to depend upon the royal prerogative, the public policy with respect to them can be found only in the proclamations, charters, and instructions, which emanated from the monarch.

The prudent forecast of Henry VII. had considered the advantages which might be derived from a colonial monopoly; and while ample privileges were bestowed on the adventurers who sailed for the New World, he stipulated that the exclusive staple of its commerce should be made in England.[1] A century of ill success had checked the extravagance of hope; and

[1] Hazard, i. 10, and 13, 14. Biddle's Cabot, 309.

as the charters of Gilbert and of Raleigh had contained little but concessions, suited to invite those eminent men to engage with earnestness in the career of western discoveries, so the first charter for Virginia expressly admitted strangers to trade with the colony on payment of a small discriminating duty.[1] On the enlargement of the company, the intercourse with foreigners was still permitted; nor were any limits assigned to the commerce in which they might engage.[2] The last charter was equally free from unreasonable restrictions on trade; and, by a confirmation of all former privileges, it permitted to foreign nations the traffic, which it did not expressly sanction.[3]

CHAP VI. 1606 1609 1612

At an early period of his reign, before Virginia had been planted, King James found in his hostility to the use of tobacco a convenient argument for the excessive tax which a royal ordinance imposed on its consumption.[4] When the weed had evidently become the staple of Virginia, the Stuarts cared for nothing in the colony so much as for a revenue to be derived from an impost on its produce. Whatever false display of zeal might be made for religion, the conversion of the heathen, the organization of the government, and the establishment of justice, the subject of tobacco was never forgotten. The sale of it in England was strictly prohibited, unless the heavy impost had been paid;[5] a proclamation enforced the royal decree;[6] and, that the tax might be gathered on the entire consumption, by a new proclamation,[7] the culture of tobacco was forbidden in England and Wales, and the plants already growing were ordered to be uprooted.

1604 Oct. 17. 1619 May. Nov Dec. 30

1 Charter, s. 13, in Hen. i. 63.
2 s. 21, Hening, i. 94, 95.
3 Third Charter, s. 21, ib. 109.
4 Hazard, i. 49, 50.
5 May 25. Hazard, i. 89.
6 Nov. 10. Ibid. 90.
7 Hazard, i. 93.

CHAP. VI. Nor was it long before the importation and sale of tobacco required a special license from the king.[1] In 1620 this manner, a compromise was effected between the interests of the colonial planters and the monarch; the former obtained the exclusive supply of the English market, and the latter succeeded in imposing 1621. an exorbitant duty.[2] In the ensuing parliament, Lord Coke did not fail to remind the commons of the usurpations of authority on the part of the monarch, who had taxed the produce of the colonies without the consent of the people, and without an act of the national legislature;[3] and Sandys, and Diggs, and Farrar, the friends of Virginia, procured the substi- April 18. tution of an act for the arbitrary ordinance.[4] In consequence of the dissensions of the times, the bill, which had passed the house, was left among the unfinished business of the session; nor was the affair adjusted, till, as we have already seen, the commons, in 1624. 1624, again expressed their regard for Virginia by a petition, to which the monarch readily attempted to give effect.[5]

1625. The first colonial measure[6] of King Charles related to tobacco; and the second proclamation,[7] though its object purported to be the settling of the plantation of Virginia, partook largely of the same character. In a series of public acts, King Charles attempted during his reign to procure a revenue from this source. The 1626. authority of the star-chamber was invoked to assist in filling his exchequer by new and onerous duties

1 April 7. Hazard, i. 89—91. June 29. Ibid. 93—96.

2 Stith, 168—170. Chalmers, 50. 52. 57.

3 Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621, i. 169.

4 Ibid. 269—271, and 296. Chalmers, 51. 70—74.

5 Hazard, i. 193—198, 198—202.

6 Ibid. 202, 203.

7 Ibid. 203—205.

on tobacco;[1] his commissioners were ordered to contract for all the product of the colonies;[2] though the Spanish tobacco was not steadily excluded.[3] All colonial tobacco was soon ordered to be sealed;[4] nor was its importation permitted except with special license;[5] and we have seen, that an attempt was made, by a direct negotiation with the Virginians, to constitute the king the sole factor of their staple.[6] The measure was defeated by the firmness of the colonists; and the monarch was left to issue a new series of proclamations, constituting London the sole mart of colonial tobacco;[7] till, vainly attempting to regulate the trade,[8] he declared "his will and pleasure to have the sole preëmption of all the tobacco" of the English plantations.[9] He long adhered to his system with resolute pertinacity.[10]

CHAP. VI. 1627. 1628. 1631. 1633 1634 1639

The measures of the Stuarts were ever unsuccessful, because they were directed against the welfare of the colonists, and were not sustained by popular interests in England. After the long-continued efforts which the enterprise of English merchants and the independent spirit of English planters had perseveringly defied, King Charles, on the appointment of Sir William Berkeley, devised the expedient which was destined to become so celebrated. No vessel, laden with colonial commodities, might sail from the harbors of Virginia for any ports but those of England, that the staple of those commodities might be made in the mother country; and all trade with foreign vessels, except in case of necessity, was forbidden.[11] This sys-

1 March 2, 1626. Ibid. 224—230.
2 Jan. 1627. Rymer, xviii. 831.
3 Feb. 1627. Ibid. 848.
4 March, 1627. Ibid. 886.
5 August, 1627. Ibid. 920
6 Hening, i. 129 and 134.
7 Jan. 1631. Rymer, xix. 235.
8 Ibid. 474 and 522.
9 June 19. Hazard, i. 375.
10 August, 1639. Rymer, xx. 348
11 Chalmers, 132, 133.

CHAP. VI. tem, which the instructions of Berkeley commanded him to introduce, was ultimately successful; for it sacrificed no rights but those of the colonists, while it identified the interests of the English merchant and the English government, and leagued them together for the oppression of those, who, for more than a century, were too feeble to offer effectual resistance.

1647. Jan. 23. The Long Parliament was more just; it attempted to secure to English shipping the whole carrying trade of the colonies, but with the free consent of the colonies themselves; offering an equivalent, which the legislatures in America were at liberty to reject.[1]

1650. The memorable ordinance of 1650 was a war measure, and extended only to the colonies which had adhered to the Stuarts. All intercourse with them was forbidden, except to those who had a license from parliament or the council of state. Foreigners were rigorously excluded;[2] and this prohibition was designed to continue in force even after the suppression of
1651 all resistance. While, therefore, the navigation act secured to English ships the entire carrying trade with England, in connection with the ordinance of the preceding year, it conferred a monopoly of colonial commerce.

But this state of commercial law was essentially modified by the manner in which the authority of the English commonwealth was established in the Chesapeake. The republican leaders of Great Britain, conducting with true magnanimity, suffered the fever of party to subside, before decisive measures were adopted; and then two of the three commissioners, whom they appointed, were taken from among the planters
Sept. 26. themselves. The instructions given them were such

[1] Hazard, i. 634, 635. [2] Ibid. 636—638.

as Virginians might carry into effect; for they constituted them the pacificators and benefactors of their country. In case of resistance, the cruelties of war were threatened.[1] If Virginia would but adhere to the commonwealth, she might be the mistress of her own destiny. CHAP. VI. 1651

What opposition could be made to the parliament, which, in the moment of its power, voluntarily proposed a virtual independence? No sooner had the Guinea frigate anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake, than "all thoughts of resistance were laid aside,"[2] and the colonists, having no motive to contend for a monarch whose fortunes seemed irretrievable, were earnest only to assert the freedom of their own institutions. It marks the character of the Virginians, that they refused to surrender to force, but yielded by a voluntary deed and a mutual compact. It was agreed, upon the surrender, that the "PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA" should have all the liberties of the freeborn people of England; should intrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand assembly; should re- 652 Mar.

[1] Let the reader consult the instructions themselves, in Thurloe, i. 197, 198, or in Hazard, i. 556—558, rather than the commentary of Chalmers or Grahame.

[2] Clarendon, b. xiii. 466, 467. It is strange how much error has been introduced into Virginia history, and continued, even when means of correcting it were abundant and easy of access. Clarendon relates the matter rightly. See also Strong's Babylon's Fall, 2, 3, and Langford's Refutation, 6, 7. These are all contemporary authorities. Compare also the journals of the Long Parliament for August 31, 1652. So, too, the Act of Surrender, in Hening, i. 363—365, which agrees with the instructions from the Long Parliament. Compare also Ludlow, 149: "This news being brought to Virginia, they submitted also,"&c. Clarendon, Strong, Langford, the public acts, Ludlow, all contemporary, do not disagree. Beverley wrote in the next century; and his account is, therefore, less to be relied on. Besides, it is in itself improbable. How could Dutch merchantmen have awaited an English squadron? The Netherlands had no liberty to trade with Virginia; and Dutch ships would at once have been seized as prizes. Virginia had doubtless been "whole for monarchy;" but monarchy in England seemed at an end. Of modern writers, Godwin, History of the Commonwealth, iii. 280, discerned the truth.

CHAP. VI. 1652. main unquestioned for their past loyalty; and should have "as free trade as the people of England." No taxes, no customs, might be levied, except by their own representatives; no forts erected, no garrisons maintained, but by their own consent.[1] In the settlement of the government, the utmost harmony prevailed between the burgesses and the commissioners: it was the governor and council only, who had any apprehensions for their safety, and who scrupulously provided a guaranty for the security of their persons and property, which there evidently had existed no design to injure.

These terms, so favorable to liberty, and almost conceding independence, were faithfully observed till the restoration. Historians have, indeed, drawn gloomy pictures of the discontent which pervaded the colony, and have represented that discontent as heightened by commercial oppression.[2] The statement is a fiction. The colony of Virginia enjoyed liberties as large as the favored New England; displayed an equal degree of fondness for popular sovereignty, and fearlessly exercised political independence.[3] There had long existed a republican party; and, now that monarchy had fallen, on whom could the royalists rely so safely as on themselves? The executive officers became elective; and so evident were the designs of all parties to promote an amicable settlement of the government,

1 Hening, i. 363—365, and 367, 368. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. Hazard, i. 560—564. Burk, ii. 85—91.

2 Beverley, Chalmers, Robertson, Marshall. Even the accurate and learned Holmes has transmitted the error. Compare Jared Sparks, in North American Review, xx. new series, 433—436.

3 Compare, for example, Dutch Records, at Albany, xxiv. 302, where Berkeley writes like an independent sovereign. "Whatsoever the noble Sir Harry Moody, in his excellent judgment, shall think fit to be done for the good of both colonies, we, on our part, shall firmly ratify." May 17, 1660. The same spirit had prevailed for years Albany Records, iv. 165.

CHAP VI.

that Richard Bennett, himself a commissioner of the parliament, and, moreover, a merchant and a Roundhead, was, on the recommendation of the other commissioners, unanimously chosen governor.[1] The oath required of the burgesses made it their paramount duty to provide for "the general good and prosperity" of Virginia and its inhabitants.[2] Under the administration of Berkeley, Bennett had been oppressed in Virginia; and now not the slightest effort at revenge was attempted.[3] 1652. April 30.

The act which constituted the government, claimed for the assembly the privilege of defining the powers which were to belong to the governor and council; and the public good was declared to require, "that the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," as to "the representatives of the people."[4] It had been usual for the governor and council to sit in the assembly, the expediency of the measure was questioned, and a temporary compromise ensued; they retained their former right, but were required to take the oath which was administered to the burgesses.[5] Thus the house of burgesses acted as a convention of the people; exercising supreme authority, and distributing power as the public welfare required.[6] April. May 5 May 6

Nor was this an accidental and transient arrangement. Cromwell never made any appointments for Virginia; not one governor acted under his commis-

1 Hening, i. 371. See Stith, 199, who tells the story rightly.—Strange, that historians would not take a hint from the accurate Stith!

2 Hening, i. 371.

3 Langford's Refutation 3. That Bennett was a Roundhead is indisputable. The contemporary authorities are Strong's Babylon's Fall, i. 7, and 10; Langford's Refutation, 3; Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 21. These, taken together, are conclusive. Bennett was of the council in 1646. Hening, i. 322.

4 Hening, i. 372.

5 Ibid. 373.

6 Hening's note, i. 369.

CHAP. VI. sion.[1] When Bennett retired from office, the assembly itself elected his successor; and Edward Diggs, who
1655. Mar. 31. had before been chosen of the council,[2] and who "had given a signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia, and to the commonwealth of England,"[3] received the suffrages.[4] The commissioners in the colony[5] were rather engaged in settling the affairs and adjusting the boundaries of Maryland, than in controlling the destinies of Virginia.

The right of electing the governor continued to be claimed by the representatives of the people,[6] and
1658. Samuel Matthews,[7] son of an old planter, was next honored with the office. But, from too exalted ideas of his station, he, with the council, became involved in an unequal contest with the assembly by which he had been elected. The burgesses had enlarged their power by excluding the governor and council from their sessions, and, having thus reserved to themselves the first free discussion of every law, had voted an
April 1. adjournment till November. The governor and council, by message, declared the dissolution of the assembly. The legality of the dissolution was denied;[8] and, after an oath of secrecy, every burgess was enjoined not to betray his trust by submission. Matthews yielded, reserving a right of appeal to the protector.[9] When the house unanimously voted the governor's answer unsatisfactory, he expressly revoked the order of dissolution, but still referred the decision of the dispute to Cromwell. The members of the assembly,

[1] Hening, i. Preface, 13.
[2] Ibid. 388. November, 1654.
[3] Ibid. i. 388.
[4] Ibid. 408. Compare Hening, i. 5, and also 426.
[5] Ibid. 428 and 432. Haz. i. 594.
[6] Hening, i. 431.
[7] ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 119.
[8] Hening's note, i. 430.
[9] Hening, i. 496, 497; and 500, 501.

apprehensive of a limitation of colonial liberty by the reference of a political question to England, determined on a solemn assertion of their independent powers. A committee was appointed, of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was the chief; and a complete declaration of popular sovereignty was solemnly made. The governor and council had ordered the dissolution of the assembly; the burgesses now decreed the former election of governor and council to be void. Having thus exercised, not merely the right of election, but the more extraordinary right of removal, they reëlected Matthews, "who by us," they add, "shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." The governor submitted, and acknowledged the validity of his ejection by taking the new oath, which had just been prescribed. The council was organized anew; and the spirit of popular liberty established all its claims.[1]

CHAP. VI. 1658.

The death of Cromwell made no change in the constitution of the colony. The message of the governor duly announced the event to the legislature.[2] It has pleased some English historians to ascribe to Virginia a precipitate attachment to Charles II. On the present occasion, the burgesses deliberated in private, and unanimously resolved that Richard Cromwell should be acknowledged.[3] But it was a more interesting question, whether the change of protector in England would endanger liberty in Virginia. The letter from the council had left the government to be administered according to former usage. The assem-

1658. 1659. Mar.

[1] Hening, i. 504, 505.
[2] See the names of the members, in Hening, v. i. p. 506, 507.
[3] Hening, i. 511. Mar. 1659.

CHAP. VI. bly declared itself satisfied with the language.[1] But, that there might be no reason to question the existing 1659. usage, the governor was summoned to come to the house; where he appeared in person, deliberately acknowledged the supreme power of electing officers to be, by the present laws, resident in the assembly, and pledged himself to join in addressing the new protector for special confirmation of all existing privileges. The reason for this extraordinary proceeding is assigned; "that what was their privilege now, might be the privilege of their posterity."[2] The frame of the Virginia government was deemed worthy of being transmitted to remote generations.

1660. Mar. On the death of Matthews, the Virginians were without a chief magistrate, just at the time when the resignation of Richard had left England without a government. The burgesses, who were immediately convened, resolving to become the arbiters of the fate of the colony, enacted, "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name, until there shall arrive from England a commission, which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful."[3] This being done, Sir William Berkely was elected governor;[4] and, acknowledging the validity of the acts of the burgesses, whom, it was expressly agreed, he could in no event dissolve, he accepted the office, and recognized, without a scruple, the authority to which he owed his elevation. "I am," said he, "but a servant of the assembly."[5] Virginia did not lay claim

[1] Hening, i. 511.
[2] Ibid. 511, 512.
[3] Ibid. 530, Act
[4] Ibid. 530, 531, and 5.
[5] Smith's New York, 27.

to absolute independence, but, awaiting the settlement of affairs in England, hoped for the Restoration of the Stuarts.[1] CHAP VI. 1660

The legislation of the colony had taken its character from the condition of the people, who were essentially agricultural in their pursuits; and it is the interest of society in that state to discountenance contracting debts. Severe laws for the benefit of the creditor are the fruits of commercial society; Virginia possessed not one considerable town, and her statutes favored the independence of the planter, rather than the security of trade. The representatives of colonial landholders voted "the total ejection of mercenary attornies."[2] By a special act, emigrants were safe against suits designed to enforce engagements that had been made in Europe;[3] and colonial obligations might be easily satisfied by a surrender of property.[4] Tobacco was generally used instead of coin. Theft was hardly known, and the spirit of the criminal law was mild. The highest judicial tribunal was the assembly, which was convened once a year, or oftener.[5] Already large landed proprietors were frequent; and plantations of two thousand acres were not unknown.[6]

During the suspension of the royal government in England, Virginia attained unlimited liberty of commerce, which she regulated by independent laws. The ordinance of 1650 was rendered void by the act of capitulation; the navigation act of Cromwell was not designed for her oppression,[7] and was not enforced within her borders. If an occasional confiscation took

1 Hening's note, i. 526—529.
2 Hening, i. 275. 302. 313. 349. 419. 482. 495; and Preface, 18.
3 Ibid. 256, 257.
4 Ibid. 294.
5 Hammond, 13. Sad State, 21.
6 Virginia's Cure, 2 and 8. Sad State, 9.
7 The commerce between the Dutch and Virginia was hardly interrupted.

CHAP. VI. place, it was done by the authority of the colonial assembly.[1] The war between England and Holland did not wholly interrupt the intercourse of the Dutch with the English colonies; and if, after the treaty of peace, the trade was considered contraband, the English restrictions were entirely disregarded.[2] A
1656. remonstrance, addressed to Cromwell, demanded an unlimited liberty; and we may suppose that it was
1658. Mar. not refused; for, some months before Cromwell's death, the Virginians "invited the Dutch and all foreigners" to trade with them, on payment of no higher duty than that which was levied on such English vessels as were bound for a foreign port.[3] Proposals of peace and commerce between New Netherlands and Virginia were discussed without scruple by the respective colo-
1660 nial governments;[4] and at last a special statute of Virginia extended to every Christian nation, in amity with England, a promise of liberty to trade and equal justice.[5] At the restoration, Virginia enjoyed freedom of commerce with the whole world.

Religious liberty advanced under the influence of independent domestic legislation. No churches had been erected except in the heart of the colony;[6] and there were so few ministers, that a bounty was offered

1 Hening, i. 382, 383.

2 Thurloe, v. 80. Hazard, i. 599—602.

3 Hening, i. 469.

4 The statements in this paragraph derive ample confirmation from the very copious Dutch Records at Albany, iv. 91; ix. 57—59; iv. 96. 122. 165. 198; particularly iv. 211, where the rumor of an intended prohibition of Dutch trade in Virginia is alluded to in a letter from the W. I. Co. to Stuyvesant. That was in 1656, precisely at the time referred to in the rambling complaint in Hazard, i. 600, and still more in the very rare little volume by L. G. "Public Good without Private Interest, or a Compendious Remonstrance of the Present Sad State and Condition of the English Colonie in Virginea; 1657;" p. 13, 14. The prohibition alluded to is not in the Navigation Act of St. John, nor did any such go into effect. See Albany Records, iv. 236. The very rare tract of L. G., I obtained through the kindness of John Brown, of Providence.

5 Smith, 27. Hening, i. 450.

6 Norwood, in Churchill, vi. 186.

for their importation.[1] Conformity had, in the reign of Charles, been enforced by measures of disfranchisement and exile.[2] By the people under the commonwealth, though they were attached to the church of their fathers, all things respecting parishes and parishioners were referred to their own ordering;[3] and religious liberty would have been perfect, but for an act of intolerance, by which all Quakers were banished, and their return regarded as a felony.[4] CHAP. VI. 1658 Mar. 1

Virginia was the first state in the world, composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where the government was organized on the principle of universal suffrage. All freemen, without exception, were entitled to vote. An attempt was 1655
once made to limit the right to house-keepers;[5] but the public voice reproved the restriction; the very next year, it was decided to be "hard, and unagreea- 1656
ble to reason, that any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections;" and the electoral franchise was restored to all freemen.[6] Servants, when the time of their bondage was completed, at once became electors, and might be chosen burgesses.[7]

Thus Virginia established upon her soil the supremacy of the popular branch, the freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, the security from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise. If, in following years, she departed from either of these principles, and yielded a reluctant consent to change, it was from the influence of foreign

1 Hening, i. 418.
2 Ibid. i. 123. 144. 149. 155. 180. 240. 268, 269. 277.
3 Ibid. 433, Act 1. 1658.
4 Ibid. i. 532, 533.
5 Ibid. Preface, 19, 20, and 412, Act 7. March, 1655.
6 Ibid. i. 403, Act 16.
7 Virginia's Cure, p. 18 Sad State, p. 4.

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authority. Virginia had herself, almost unconsciously, established a nearly independent democracy; and already preferred her own sons for places of authority.[1] The country felt itself honored by those who were "Virginians born;"[2] and emigrants never again desired to live in England.[3] Prosperity advanced with freedom; dreams of new staples and infinite wealth were indulged;[4] while the population of Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, may have been about thirty thousand. Many of the recent emigrants had been royalists in England, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. The revolution had not subdued their characters; but the waters of the Atlantic divided them from the political strifes of Europe; their industry was employed in making the best advantage of their plantations; the interests and liberties of Virginia, the land which they adopted as their country, were dearer to them than the monarchical principles which they had espoused in England;[5] and therefore no bitterness could exist between the firmest partisans of the Stuarts and the friends of republican liberty. Virginia had long been the home of its inhabitants. "Among many other blessings," said their statute-book,[6] "God Almighty hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony; who are now multiplied to a considerable number;" and the huts in the wilderness were as full as the birds-nests of the woods.

[1] Hammond's Leah and Rachel, p. 15.
[2] Thurloe, ii. 274.
[3] Hammond, 8.
[4] E. Williams, Virginia, and Virginia's Discovery of Silk-worms, 1650.
[5] Clarendon, b. xiii. v. iii. p. 466, 467. Walsh's Appeal, p. 31.
[6] Hening, i. 336. "A very numerous generation of Christian children born in Virginia, who naturally are of beautiful and comely persons, and generally of more ingenious spirits than those of England." Virginia's Cure, 5.

The genial climate and transparent atmosphere delighted those who had come from the denser air of England. Every object in nature was new and wonderful. The loud and frequent thunder-storms were phenomena that had been rarely witnessed in the colder summers of the north; the forests, majestic in their growth, and free from underwood, deserved admiration for their unrivalled magnificence; the purling streams and the frequent rivers, flowing between alluvial banks, quickened the ever-pregnant soil into an unwearied fertility; the strangest and the most delicate flowers grew familiarly in the fields; the woods were replenished with sweet barks and odors; the gardens matured the fruits of Europe, of which the growth was invigorated and the flavor improved by the activity of the virgin mould. Especially the birds, with their gay plumage and varied melodies, inspired delight; every traveller expressed his pleasure in listening to the mocking-bird, which caroled a thousand several tunes, imitating and excelling the notes of all its rivals. The humming-bird, so brilliant in its plumage, and so delicate in its form, quick in motion, yet not fearing the presence of man, haunting about the flowers like the bee gathering honey, rebounding from the blossoms into which it dips its bill, and as soon returning "to renew its many addresses to its delightful objects," was ever admired as the smallest and the most beautiful of the feathered race. The rattlesnake, with the terrors of its alarms and the power of its venom; the opossum, soon to become as celebrated for the care of its offspring as the fabled pelican; the noisy frog, booming from the shallows like the English bittern; the flying squirrel; the myriads of pigeons, darkening the air with the immensity of their flocks.

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and, as men believed, breaking with their weight the boughs of trees on which they alighted,—were all honored with frequent commemoration, and became the subjects of the strangest tales. The concurrent relation of all the Indians justified the belief, that, within ten days' journey towards the setting of the sun, there was a country where gold might be washed from the sand, and where the natives themselves had learned the use of the crucible;[1] but definite and accurate as were the accounts, inquiry was always baffled; and the regions of gold remained for two centuries an undiscovered land.

Various were the employments by which the calmness of life was relieved. George Sandys, an idle man, who had been a great traveller, and who did not remain in America, a poet, whose verse was tolerated by Dryden and praised by Izaak Walton, beguiled the ennui of his seclusion by translating the whole of Ovid's Metamorphoses.[2] To the man of leisure, the chase furnished a perpetual resource. It was not long before the horse was multiplied in Virginia; and to improve that noble animal was early an object of pride, soon to be favored by legislation. Speed was especially valued; and "the planter's pace" became a proverb.

Equally proverbial was the hospitality of the Virginians. Labor was valuable; land was cheap; competence promptly followed industry. There was no need of a scramble; abundance gushed from the earth for all. The morasses were alive with water-fowl; the creeks abounded with oysters, heaped together in inexhaustible beds; the rivers were crowded with

[1] E. Williams, Virginia, &c. 17. Comp. Silliman's Journal, on the mines of N. C. xxiii. 8, 9.

[2] Rymer, xviii. 676, 677. Walton's Hooker, 32.

fisn; the forests were nimble with game; the woods rustled with coveys of quails and wild turkeys, while they rung with the merry notes of the singing-birds; and hogs, swarming like vermin, ran at large in troops. It was "the best poor man's country in the world." "If a happy peace be settled in poor England," it had been said, "then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under heaven."[1] But plenty encouraged indolence. No domestic manufactures were established; every thing was imported from England. The chief branch of industry, for the purpose of exchanges, was tobacco-planting; and the spirit of invention was enfeebled by the uniformity of pursuit. CHAP VI.

[1] ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 116. 106 Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 9, 0, 5.

CHAPTER VII

COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND.

CHAP. VII.

1609. THE limits of Virginia, by its second charter, extended two hundred miles north of Old Point Comfort, and therefore included all the soil which subsequently formed the state of Maryland. It was not long before the country towards the head of the Chesapeake was explored; settlements in Accomack were extended; and commerce was begun with the tribes which Smith had been the first to visit. Porey, the
1621. secretary of the colony, "made a discovery into the great bay," as far as the River Patuxent, which he ascended; but his voyage probably reached no farther to the north. The English settlement of a hundred men, which he is represented to have found already established,[1] was rather a consequence of his voyage, and seems to have been on the eastern shore, perhaps within the limits of Virginia.[2] The hope "of a very good trade of furs," animated the adventurers; and if the plantations advanced but slowly, there is yet evidence, that commerce with the Indians was earnestly pursued under the sanction of the colonial government.[3]

An attempt was made to obtain a monopoly of this commerce[4] by William Clayborne, whose resolute and

[1] Chalmers, 206.
[2] Purchas, iv. 1784. Smith, ii. 61—64.
[3] Relation of Maryland, 4; ed. 1635. Smith's History of Virginia, ii. 63 and 95.
[4] Rel. of Maryland, 1635, p. 10.

enterprising spirit was destined to exert a powerful and long-continued influence. His first appearance in America was as a surveyor,[1] sent by the London company to make a map of the country. At the fall of the corporation, he had been appointed by King James a member of the council;[2] and, on the accession of Charles, was continued in office, and, in repeated commissions, was nominated secretary of state.[3] At the same time, he received authority from the governors of Virginia to discover the source of the Bay of the Chesapeake, and, indeed, any part of that province, from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude.[4] It was, therefore, natural that he should become familiar with the opportunities for traffic which the country afforded; and the jurisdiction and the settlement of Virginia seemed about to extend to the forty-first parallel of latitude, which was then the boundary of New England. Upon his favorable representation, a company was formed in England for trading with the natives; and, through the agency of Sir William Alexander, the Scottish proprietary of Nova Scotia, a royal license was issued, sanctioning the commerce, and conferring on Clayborne powers of government over the companions of his voyages.[5] Harvey enforced the commands of his sovereign, and confirmed the license by a colonial commission.[6] The Dutch plantations were esteemed to border upon Virginia. After long experience as a surveyor, and after years employed in discoveries, Clayborne, now acting under the royal license, formed establishments, not only on Kent Island, then within the Old Dominion, but

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1621

1624

1625

1627 to 1629

1631 May 16.

1632 Mar 8.

1 Hening, i. 116.
2 Hazard, i. 189.
3 Ibid. 234 and 239.
4 Papers in Chalmers, 227.
5 Chalmers, 227, 228.
6 Ibid. 228, 229.

CHAP. VII. also near the mouth of the Susquehannah.[1] Thus the colony of Virginia anticipated the extension of its commerce and its limits; and, as mistress of all the vast and commodious waters of the Chesapeake, and of the soil on both sides of the Potomac, indulged the hope of obtaining the most brilliant commercial success, and rising into powerful opulence, without the competition of a rival.

It was the peculiar fortune of the United States, that they were severally colonized by men, in origin, religious faith, and purposes, as various as the climes which are included within their limits. Before Virginia could complete its settlements, and confirm its claims to jurisdiction over the country north of the Potomac, a new government was erected, on a foundation as extraordinary as its results were benevolent. Sir George Calvert had early become interested in colonial establishments in America. A native of York-
1580. shire,[2] educated at Oxford,[3] with a mind enlarged by extensive travel, on his entrance into life befriended by Sir Robert Cecil, advanced to the honors of knight-
1619. hood, and at length employed as one of the two secretaries of state,[4] he not only secured the consideration of his patron and his sovereign,[5] but the good opinion
1621. of the world. He was chosen by a disputed majority to represent in parliament his native county of Yorkshire.[6] His capacity for business, his industry, and his fidelity, are acknowledged by all historians. In an age when religious controversy still continued

[1] Hazard, i. 430. Relation of Maryland, 34. Thurloe, v. 486. Hazard, i. 630. Maryland Papers, in Chalmers, 233.

[2] Fuller's Worthies, 201.

[3] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, 522, 523.

[4] Stow, edition of 1631, p. 1031.

[5] Winwood, ii. 58, and iii. 318 and 337.

[6] Debates of 1620 and 1621 i. 175.

to be active, and when the increasing divisions among Protestants were spreading a general alarm, his mind sought relief from controversy in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church; and, preferring the avowal of his opinions to the emoluments of office, he resigned his place, and openly professed his conversion. King James was never bitter against the Catholics, who respected his pretensions as a monarch; Calvert retained his place in the privy council, and was advanced to the dignity of an Irish peerage. He had, from early life, shared in the general enthusiasm of England in favor of American plantations; he had been a member of the great company for Virginia; and, while secretary of state, he had obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of Newfoundland. How zealous he was in selecting suitable emigrants; how earnest to promote habits of domestic order and economical industry; how lavishly he expended his estate in advancing the interests of his settlement on the rugged shores of Avalon,[1]—is related by those who have written of his life. He desired, as a founder of a colony, not present profit, but a reasonable expectation; and, perceiving the evils of a common stock, he cherished enterprise by leaving each one to enjoy the results of his own industry. But numerous difficulties prevented success in Newfoundland: parliament had ever asserted the freedom of the fisheries,[2] which his grants tended to impair; the soil and the climate proved less favorable than had been described in the glowing and deceptive pictures of his early agents; and the incessant danger of attacks from the French,

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1624

1 Whitbourne's Newfoundland, in the Cambridge library. Also Purchas, iv. 1882—1891; Collier on Calvert; Fuller's Worthies of Yorkshire, 201, 202; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ii. 522, 523; Lloyd's State Worthies, in Biog. Brit. article Calvert; Chalmers, 201

2 Chalmers, 84. 100. 114, 115 116. 130.

CHAP. VII. who were possessed of the circumjacent continent, spread a gloom over the future. Twice, it is said, did Lord Baltimore, in person, visit his settlement; with ships, manned at his own charge, he repelled the French, who were hovering round the coast with the design of annoying the English fishermen; and, having taken sixty of them prisoners, he secured a temporary tranquillity to his countrymen and his colonists. But, notwithstanding this success, he found all hopes of a thriving plantation in Avalon to be vain. Why should the English emigrate to a rugged and inhospitable island, surrounded by a hostile power, when the hardships of colonizing the milder regions of Virginia had already been encountered, and a peaceful home might now be obtained without peril?

Lord Baltimore looked to Virginia, of which the climate, the fertility, and the advantages, were so much extolled. Yet, as a Papist, he could hardly expect a hospitable welcome in a colony from which the careful exclusion[1] of Roman Catholics had been originally avowed as a special object, and where the statutes of the provincial legislature, as well as the commands of the sovereign, aimed at a perpetual religious uniformity. When in Oct., 1629, he visited Virginia in person, the zeal of the assembly immediately ordered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered him. It was in vain that he proposed a form which he was willing to subscribe; the government firmly insisted upon that which had been chosen by the English statutes, and which was purposely framed in such language as no Catholic could adopt. A letter was transmitted from the assembly to the privy council, explanatory of the dispute which had grown out

1629. Oct.

[1] Hazard, i. 72.

of the intolerance of European legislation.[1] It was evident that Lord Baltimore could never hope for quiet in any attempt at establishing a colony within the jurisdiction of Virginia. CHAP. VII.

But the country beyond the Potomac seemed to be as yet untenanted by any but the scattered hordes of the native tribes. The French, the Dutch, and the Swedes, were preparing to occupy the country; and a grant seemed the readiest mode of securing the soil by an English settlement.[2] The canceling of the Virginia patents had restored to the monarch the ample authority of his prerogative over the soil; he might now sever a province from the colony, to which he had at first assigned a territory so vast; and it was not difficult for Calvert—a man of such moderation, that all parties were taken with him;[3] sincere in his character, disengaged from all interests, and a favorite with the royal family—to obtain a charter for domains in that happy clime. The conditions of the grant conformed to the wishes of the first Lord Baltimore himself, although it was finally issued for the benefit of his son.

The fundamental charter[4] of the colony of Maryland, however it may have neglected to provide for the power of the king, was the sufficient frank pledge of the liberties of the colonist, not less than of the rights and interests of the proprietary. The ocean, the fortieth parallel of latitude, the meridian of the western 1632 June 20.

[1] Ancient Records, in Burk, ii. 24—27.

[2] Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 19.

[3] Collier on Calvert.

[4] The charter may be found in Hazard, i. 327—337; in Bacon's Laws of Maryland at Large. It is appended in English to the Relation of Maryland, 1635. It has been commented upon by Chalmers, 202—205; very diffusely by McMahon, 133—183; by Story, i. 92—94; and many others.

CHAP. VII. 1632. fountain of the Potomac, the river itself from its source to its mouth, and a line drawn due east from Watkin's Point to the Atlantic,—these were the limits of the territory, which was now erected into a province, and from Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. and wife of Charles I., whose restless mind, disdaining contentment in domestic happiness, aspired to every kind of power and distinction, received the name of Maryland. The country thus described was given to Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as to its absolute lord and proprietary, to be holden by the tenure of fealty only, paying a yearly rent of two Indian arrows, and a fifth of all gold and silver ore which might be found. Yet the absolute authority was conceded rather with reference to the crown, than the colonists; for the charter, like his patent, which, in April, 1623, had passed the great seal for Avalon, secured to the emigrants themselves an independent share in the legislation of the province, of which the statutes were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies. Representative government was indissolubly connected with the fundamental charter; and it was especially provided, that the authority of the absolute proprietary should not extend to the life, freehold, or estate of any emigrant. These were the features which endeared the proprietary government to the people of Maryland; and, but for these, the patent would have been as worthless as those of the London company, of Warwick, of Gorges, or of Mason. It is a singular fact, that the only proprietary charters, productive of considerable emolument to their owners, were those which conceded popular liberty. For the benefit of the

colony, the statutes restraining emigration were dispensed with; and, at the appointment of the Baron of Baltimore, all present and future liege people of the English king, except such as should be expressly forbidden, might freely transport themselves and their families to Maryland. Christianity, as professed by the Church of England, was protected; but beyond this, silence left room for equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, to be assured. A monopoly of the fisheries had formerly been earnestly resisted by the commons of England: to avoid all dispute on this point, Calvert, in his charter, expressly renounced any similar claim. As a Catholic, he needed to be free from the jurisdiction of his neighbor; Maryland was carefully separated from Virginia, nor was he obliged to obtain the royal assent to the appointments or the legislation of his province, nor even to make a communication of the results. So far was the English monarch from reserving any right of superintendence in the colony, he left himself without the power to take cognizance of what transpired; and, by an express stipulation, covenanted, that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his successors, should ever, at any time thereafter, set any imposition, custom, or tax, whatsoever, upon the inhabitants of the province. Thus was conferred on Maryland an exemption from English taxation forever. Sir George Calvert was a man of sagacity, and an observing statesman. He had beheld the arbitrary administration of the colonies; and, against any danger of future oppression, he provided the strongest defence which the promise of a monarch could afford. Some other rights were conferred on the proprietary—the ad-

CHAP. VII. vowson of churches; the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy 1632 on the system of sub-infeudation. But these things were practically of little moment. Even in Europe, feudal institutions appeared like the decrepitude of age amidst the vigor and enterprise of a new and more peaceful civilization, they could not be perpetuated in the lands of their origin; far less could they renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor forest be transplanted across the Atlantic, than the social forms, which Europe itself was beginning to reject as antiquated and rotten. But the seeds of popular liberty, contained in the charter, would find, in the New World, the very soil best suited to quicken them into life and fruitfulness.

Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience; to advance the career of civilization by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot, where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which, as yet, had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.

April 15. Before the patent could be finally adjusted and pass the great seal, Sir George Calvert died,[1] leaving a name against which the breath of calumny has hardly whispered a reproach. The petulance of his adversa

[1] Chalmers, 201

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ries could only taunt him with being "an Hispanio-lized Papist."[1] His son, Cecil Calvert, succeeded to his honors and fortunes. For him, the heir of his father's intentions,[2] not less than of his father's fortunes, the charter of Maryland was published and confirmed; and he obtained the high distinction of successfully performing what the colonial companies had hardly been able to achieve. At a vast expense, he planted a colony, which for several generations descended as a patrimony to his heirs. 1632 June 20.

Virginia regarded the severing of her territory with apprehension, and before any colonists had embarked under the charter of Baltimore, her commissioners had in England remonstrated against the grant as an invasion of her commercial rights, an infringement on her domains, and a discouragement to her planters. In Strafford, Lord Baltimore found a friend,—for Strafford had been the friend of the father,[3]—and the remonstrance was in vain; the privy council sustained the proprietary charter, and, advising the parties to an amicable adjustment of all disputes, commanded a free commerce and a good correspondence between the respective colonies.[4] 1633. July 3.

Nor was it long before gentlemen of birth and quality resolved to adventure their lives and a good part of their fortunes in the enterprise of planting a colony under so favorable a charter. Lord Baltimore, who, for some unknown reason, abandoned his purpose of conducting the emigrants in person, appointed his brother to act as his lieutenant; and, on Friday, the twenty-second of November, with a small but favoring gale, Leonard Calvert, and about two hundred people, Nov 22

1 Wilson, in Kennett, iii. 705.
2 The charter asserts it.
3 Chalmers, 209.
4 Hazard, i. 337. Bozman, 381 and 265. Chalmers, 231.

CHAP. VII. most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen and their servants, in the Ark and the Dove, a ship of large burden, and a pinnace, set sail for the northern bank of the Potomac. Having staid by the way in Barbadoes and
1634. Feb. 24. St. Christopher, it was not till February of the following year, that they arrived at Point Comfort, in Virginia; where, in obedience to the express letters of King Charles, they were welcomed by Harvey with courtesy and humanity. Clayborne also appeared, but it was as a prophet of ill omen, to terrify the company by predicting the fixed hostility of the natives.

Mar. Leaving Point Comfort, Calvert sailed into the Potomac;[1] and with the pinnace ascended the stream. A cross was planted on an island, and the country claimed for Christ and for England. At about forty-seven leagues above the mouth of the river, he found the village of Piscataqua, an Indian settlement nearly opposite Mount Vernon. The chieftain of the tribe would neither bid him go nor stay; "he might use his own discretion." It did not seem safe for the English to plant the first settlement so high up the river; Calvert descended the stream, examining, in his barge, the creeks and estuaries nearer the Chesapeake; he entered the river which is now called St. Mary's, and which he named St. George's; and, about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, he anchored at the Indian town of Yoacomoco. The native inhabitants, having suffered from the superior power of the Susquehannahs, who occupied the district between the bays, had already resolved to remove into places of more security in the interior; and many of them had begun to migrate before the English arrived. To Calvert, the spot seemed convenient for a plantation; it was easy

[1] Winthrop, i. 134.

by presents of cloth and axes, of hoes and knives, to gain the good will of the natives, and to purchase their rights to the soil which they were preparing to abandon. They readily gave consent that the English should immediately occupy one half of their town, and, after the harvest, should become the exclusive tenants of the whole. Mutual promises of friendship and peace were made; so that, upon the twenty-seventh day of March, the Catholics took quiet possession of the little place; and religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world, at the humble village which bore the name of St. Mary's.

CHAP VII. 1634

Mar. 27.

Three days after the landing of Calvert, the Ark and the Dove anchored in the harbor. Sir John Harvey soon arrived on a visit; the native chiefs, also, came to welcome or to watch the emigrants, and were so well received, that they resolved to give perpetuity to their league of amity with the English. The Indian women taught the wives of the new comers to make bread of maize; the warriors of the tribe instructed the huntsmen how rich were the forests of America in game, and joined them in the chase. And, as the season of the year invited to the pursuits of agriculture, and the English had come into possession of ground already subdued, they were able, at once, to possess cornfields and gardens, and prepare the wealth of successful husbandry. Virginia, from its surplus produce, could furnish a temporary supply of food, and all kinds of domestic cattle. No sufferings were endured; no fears of want were excited; the foundation of the colony of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid. Within six months, it had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. The proprietary continued with great liberality to provide every thing that was

CHAP. VII. 1634. necessary for its comfort and protection, and spared no costs to promote its interests; expending, with the aid of his friends, upwards of forty thousand pounds sterling. But far more memorable was the character of the Maryland institutions. Every other country in the world had persecuting laws; "I will not,"—such was the oath for the governor of Maryland,—"I will not, by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in respect of religion."[2] Under the mild institutions and munificence of Baltimore, the dreary wilderness soon bloomed with the swarming life and activity of prosperous settlements; the Roman Catholics, who were oppressed by the laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in the quiet harbors of the Chesapeake; and there, too, Protestants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance.

Such were the beautiful auspices under which the province of Maryland started into being; its prosperity and its peace seemed assured; the interests of its people and its proprietary were united; and, for some years, its internal peace and harmony were undisturbed. Its history is the history of benevolence, gratitude, and toleration. No domestic factions disturbed its harmony. Every thing breathed peace but Clayborne. Dangers could only grow out of external causes, and were eventually the sad consequences of the revolution in England.

1635. Feb. Twelve months had not elapsed before the colony of Maryland was convened for legislation. Probably all the freemen of the province were present in a strictly popular assembly. The laws of the session

[1] Chalmers, 205—208. McMahon, 196—198.
[2] Chalmers, 235. McMahon, 226.

are no longer extant; but we know, that the neces- CHAP. VII.
sity of vindicating the jurisdiction of the province against the claims of Clayborne was deemed a subject worthy of the general deliberation and of a decisive act.[1] For he had been roused, by confidence in his power, to resolve on maintaining his possessions by force of arms. The earliest annals of Maryland are defaced by the accounts of a bloody skirmish on one of the rivers near the Isle of Kent. Several lives were lost in the affray; but Clayborne's men were defeated. Lord Baltimore afterwards accused them of "piracy and murder," and, in 1638, Leonard Calvert, taking forcible possession of Kent Island, executed one or two persons on the charge, though at the time Clayborne was in England, prosecuting his claims before the king.[2]

When a colonial assembly was next convened, it 1638. Jan.
passed an act of attainder against Clayborne; as if he had not only derided the powers of the proprietary, but had scattered jealousies among the Indians, and infused a spirit of disobedience into the inhabitants of Kent Island. Now that he was away, his estates were seized, and were declared forfeited to the laws, which he had contemned as invalid.[3] In England, Clayborne attempted to gain a hearing for his wrongs; and, partly by strong representations, still more by the influence of Sir William Alexander, succeeded, for a season, in procuring the favorable disposition of Charles. But when the whole affair came to be referred to the commissioners for the plantations, it was found, that, on 1639 April.
received principles, the right of the king to confer the soil and the jurisdiction of Maryland could not be

[1] Chalmers, 210 and 232. Bacon, in his Laws at Large, makes no mention of this assembly.

[2] Bozman, 280—282. Burk, ii. 40, 41. Chalmers, 209, 210, 232. McMahon, 12. S. F. Streeter's MS. notes.

[3] Chalmers, 210.

CHAP. VII. controverted; that the earlier license to traffic did not vest in Clayborne any rights which were valid against the charter; and therefore that the Isle of Kent belonged absolutely to Lord Baltimore, who alone could permit plantations to be established, or commerce with the Indians to be conducted, within the limits of his territory.[1]

Yet the people of Maryland were not content with vindicating the limits of their province; they were jealous of their liberties. The charter had secured to them the right of advising and approving in legislation. Did Lord Baltimore alone possess the right of originating laws? The people of Maryland rejected the code which the proprietary, as if holding the exclusive privilege of proposing statutes, had prepared for their government; and, asserting their equal rights of legislation, they, in their turn, enacted a body of laws, which they proposed for the assent of the proprietary:—so uniformly active in America was the spirit of popular liberty. How discreetly it was exercised, cannot now be known; for the laws, which were then enacted, were never ratified, and are therefore not to be found in the provincial records.[2]

1639. In the early history of the United States, nothing is more remarkable than the uniform attachment of each colony to its franchises; and popular assemblies burst every where into life with a consciousness of their importance, and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation. The first assembly of Maryland had vindicated the jurisdiction of the colony; the second had asserted its claims to original legislation; the third,

1 Bozman, 330—344. Chalmers, 212. 232—235. Bozman, 299—318, and 324—329 McMahon, 145.

2 Bacon, 1637. Chalmers, 211.

CHAP VII. 1639

which was now convened, examined its obligations, and, though not all its acts were carried through the forms essential to their validity, it yet displayed the spirit of the people and the times by framing a declaration of rights. Acknowledging the duty of allegiance to the English monarch, and securing to Lord Baltimore his prerogatives, it likewise confirmed to the inhabitants of Maryland all the liberties which an Englishman can enjoy at home; established a system of representative government; and asserted for the general assemblies in the province all such powers as may be exercised by the commons of England.[1] Indeed, throughout the whole colonial legislation of Maryland, the body representing the people, in its support of the interests and civil liberties of the province, was never guilty of timidity or treachery.[2] It is strange that religious bigotry could ever stain the statute-book of a colony founded on the basis of the freedom of conscience. An apprehension of some remote danger of persecution seems even then to have hovered over the minds of the Roman Catholics; and, at this session, they secured to their church its rights and liberties. Those rights and those liberties, it is plain from the charter, could be no more than the tranquil exercise of the Roman worship. The constitution had not yet attained a fixed form; thus far it had been a species of democracy under a hereditary patriarch. The act[3] constituting the assembly marks the transition to a representative government. At this session, any freeman, who had taken no part in the election, might attend in person; henceforward, the governor might summon his friends by special

1 Bacon, 1638–9, c. i. ii.
2 McMahon, 149.
3 Bacon, 1638–9, c. i. Griffith's Maryland, 7.

CHAP. VII. writ; while the people were to choose as many delegates as "the freemen should think good." As yet there was no jealousy of power, no strife for place. While these laws prepared a frame of government for future generations, we are reminded of the feebleness and poverty of the state, where the whole people were obliged to contribute to "the setting up of a watermill."[1]

1640. The restoration of the charter of the London company would have endangered the separate existence of Maryland; yet we have seen Virginia, which had ever been jealous of the division of its territory, defeat the attempt to revive the corporation. Meantime, the
Oct. legislative assembly of Maryland, in the grateful enjoyment of happiness, seasonably guarded the tranquillity of the province against the perplexities of an "interim," by providing for the security of the government in case of the death of the Deputy Governor. Commerce also was fostered; and tobacco, the staple of the colony, subjected to inspection.

1642. Mar. 21. Nor was it long before the inhabitants recognized Lord Baltimore's "great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, and protecting them in their persons, rights, and liberties;" and therefore, "out of desire to return some testimony of gratitude," they freely granted "such a subsidy as the young and poor estate of the colony could bear."[2] Maryland, for all its divisions, was the abode of happiness and liberty. Conscience was without restraint; a mild and liberal proprietary conceded every measure which the welfare of the colony required; domestic union, a happy concert between all the branches of government, an in-

[1] Bacon, 1638–9. Chalmers, 213, 214. Griffith, 8.
[2] Bacon, 1641–2, c. v

creasing emigration, a productive commerce, a fertile soil, which Heaven had richly favored with rivers and deep bays, united to perfect the scene of colonial felicity and contentment. Ever intent on advancing the interests of his colony, Lord Baltimore invited the Puritans of Massachusetts to emigrate to Maryland, offering them lands and privileges, and "free liberty of religion;" but Gibbons, to whom he had forwarded a commission, was "so wholly tutored in the New England discipline," that he would not advance the wishes of the Irish peer; and the people, who subsequently refused Jamaica and Ireland, were not now tempted to desert the Bay of Massachusetts for the Chesapeake.[1]

CHAP. VII.

1642

But secret dangers existed. The aborigines, alarmed at the rapid increase of the Europeans, vexed at being frequently overreached by their cupidity, commenced hostilities; for the Indians, ignorant of the remedy of redress, always plan retaliation. After a war of frontier aggressions, marked by no decisive events, peace was reëstablished on the usual terms of submission and promises of friendship, and rendered durable by the prudent legislation of the assembly and the firm humanity of the government. The preëmption of the soil was reserved to Lord Baltimore, kidnapping an Indian made a capital offence, and the sale of arms prohibited as a felony.[2] A regulation of intercourse with the natives was the surest preventive of war; the wrongs of an individual were ascribed to the nation; the injured savage, ignorant of peaceful justice, panted only for revenge; and thus the obscure villany of some humble ruffian, whom

1642 to 1644.

1 Winthrop, ii. 148, 149.

2 Bacon, 1649, c. iii. vi.

CHAP. VII. the government would willingly punish for his outrages, might involve the colony in the horrors of savage warfare.

1643 to 1646. But the restless Clayborne, urged, perhaps, by the conviction of having been wronged, and still more by the hope of revenge, proved a far more dangerous enemy. Now that the civil war in England left nothing to be hoped from royal patronage, he declared for the popular party, and, with the assistance of one Ingle, who obtained sufficient notoriety to be proclaimed a traitor to the king,[1] he was able to promote a
1644. Jan. rebellion. By the very nature of the proprietary frame of government, the lord paramount could derive physical strength and resources only from his own private fortunes, or from the willing attachment of his lieges. His power depended on a union with his people. In times of peace, this condition was eminently favorable to the progress of liberty; the royal governors were often able, were still more often disposed, to use oppressive and exacting measures; the deputies of the proprietaries were always compelled to struggle for the assertion of the interests of their employer; they could never become successful aggressors on the liberties of the people. Besides, the crown, always jealous of the immense powers which had been carelessly lavished on the proprietary, was usually willing to favor the people in every reasonable effort to improve their condition, or limit the authority of the intermediate sovereign. At present, when the commotions in England left every colony in America almost unheeded, and Virginia and New England were pursuing a course of nearly independent legislation, the power of the proprietary was

1 Bacon's Preface. Chalmers, 217.

almost as feeble as that of the king. The other colonies took advantage of the period to secure and advance their liberties: in Maryland, the effect was rather to encourage the insubordination of the restless; and Clayborne was able to excite an insurrection. Early in 1645, the rebels were triumphant; unprepared for an attack, the governor was compelled to fly, and more than a year elapsed before the assistance of the well-disposed could enable him to resume his power and restore tranquillity. The insurgents distinguished the period of their dominion by disorder and misrule, and most of the records were then lost or embezzled.[1] Peace was confirmed by the wise clemency of the government; the offences of the rebellion were concealed by a general amnesty;[2] and the province was rescued, though not without expense,[3] from the distresses and confusion which had followed a short but vindictive and successful insurrection.

CHAP. VII. — 1644 — 1645 — 1646 Dec. — 1647 to 1649

The controversy between the king and the parliament advanced; the overthrow of the monarchy seemed about to confer unlimited power in England upon the imbittered enemies of the Romish church; and, as if with a foresight of impending danger, and an earnest desire to stay its approach, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, with the earnest concurrence of their governor and of the proprietary, determined to place upon their statute-book an act for the religious freedom which had ever been sacred on their soil. "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion"—such was the sublime tenor of a part of the statute—"hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it

1649 April — April 21.

1 Bacon's Preface. Chalmers, 217, 218. Burk, ii. 112. McMahon, 202.

2 Bacon, 1650, c. xxiv.

3 Ibid. 1649. c. ix.

CHAP. VII. 1649. has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be any ways troubled, molested, or discountenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Thus did the early star of religious freedom appear as the harbinger of day; though, as it first gleamed above the horizon, its light was colored and obscured by the mists and exhalations of morning. The greatest of English poets, when he represents the ground teeming with living things at the word of the Creator, paints the moment when the forms, so soon to be instinct with perfect life and beauty, are yet emerging from the inanimate earth, and when but

> half appeared
> The tawny lion pawing to get free;
> ———— then springs, as broke from bonds,
> And rampant shakes his brinded mane.

So it was with the freedom of religion in the United States. The clause for liberty in Maryland extended only to Christians, and was introduced by the proviso, that "whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death."[1] No where in the United States is religious opinion now deemed a proper subject for penal enactments. The only fit punishment for error is refutation. God needs no avenger in man. The fool-hardy levity of shallow infidelity proceeds from a morbid passion for notoriety, or the malice that finds pleasure in annoyance. The

[1] Bacon, 1649, c. 1. "A true copy" of the whole law is printed by Langford, 27—32. Compare Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 20, 21.

laws of society should do no more than reprove the breach of its decorum. Blasphemy is the crime of despair. One hopeless sufferer commits suicide; another curses Divine Providence for the evil which is in the world, and of which he cannot solve the mystery. The best medicine for intemperate grief is compassion; the keenest rebuke for ribaldry, contempt. CHAP VII.

But the design of the law of Maryland was undoubtedly to protect freedom of conscience; and, some years after it had been confirmed, the apologist of Lord Baltimore could assert; that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion;[1] that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world.[2] The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.[3]

1650 April

An equal union prevailed between all branches of the government in explaining and confirming the civil liberties of the colony. In 1642, Robert Vaughan, in the name of the rest of the burgesses, had desired, that the house might be separated, and thus a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649, this change had taken place; and it was confirmed by a statute.[4] The dangerous prerogative of declaring martial law was also limited to the precincts of the camp and the garrison;[5] and a perpetual act declared, that no tax should be levied upon the free-

[1] Langford, 11.
[2] Ibid. 5.
[3] Chalmers, 219. Langford, 3. Hammond, 20.
[4] Bacon, 1649, c. xii., and note 1650, c. i.
[5] Bacon, 1650, c. xxvi.

CHAP. VII. 1650. men of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly. "The strength of the proprietary" was confidently reposed "in the affections of his people."[1] Well might the freemen of Maryland place upon their records a declaration of their gratitude, "as a memorial to all posterities," and a pledge that succeeding generations would faithfully "remember" the care and industry of Lord Baltimore in advancing "the peace and happiness of the colony."[2]

But the revolutions in England could not but affect the destinies of the colonies; and while New England and Virginia vigorously advanced their liberties under the salutary neglect, Maryland was involved in the miseries of a disputed government. The people were ready to display every virtue of good citizens; but doubts were raised as to the authority to which obedience was due, and the government, which had been a government of benevolence, good order, and toleration, was, by the force of circumstances, soon abandoned to the misrule of bigotry and the anarchy of a disputed sovereignty. When the throne and the peerage had been subverted in England, it might be questioned whether the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore should be permitted to continue. When hereditary power had ceased in the mother country, might it properly exist in the colony? It seemed uncertain, if the proprietary could maintain his position; and the scrupulous Puritans hesitated to take an unqualified oath of fealty, with which they might be unable to comply.[3] Englishmen were no longer lieges of a sovereign, but members of a commonwealth; and, but

1 Bacon, 1650, c. xxv
2 Ibid. 1650, c. xxiii.
3 Strong's Babylon's Fall, 1, 2.

for the claims of Baltimore, Maryland would equally enjoy the benefits of republican liberty. Great as was the temptation to assert independence, it would not have prevailed, could the peace of the province have been maintained. But who, it might well be asked, was the sovereign of Maryland? Her "beauty and extraordinary goodness" had been to her a fatal dowry; and Maryland was claimed by four separate aspirants. Virginia[1] was ever ready to revive its rights to jurisdiction beyond the Potomac, and Clayborne had already excited attention by his persevering opposition;[2] Charles II., incensed against Lord Baltimore for his adhesion to the rebels and his toleration of schismatics, had issued a commission to Sir William Davenant;[3] Stone was the active deputy of Lord Baltimore; and parliament had already appointed its commissioners. CHAP. VII.

In the ordinance[4] for the reduction of the rebellious colonies, Maryland had not been included; if Charles II. had been inconsiderately proclaimed by a temporary officer, the offence had been expiated;[5] and, as assurances had been given of the fidelity of Stone to the commonwealth, no measures against his authority were designed.[6] Yet the commissioners were instructed to reduce "all the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake;"[7] and it must be allowed, that Clayborne might find in the ambiguous phrase, intended perhaps, to include only the settlements of Virginia, a sufficient warrant to stretch his authority to Maryland. The commissioners accordingly entered the province; and, after much altercation with Stone, de- 1650 1651 Sept. 1652

1 Hazard, i. 620—630. McMahon, 207, 208.
2 Bacon, 1650, c. xvii.
3 Langford, 3, 4. Grahame's U. S. i. 117, 118.
4 Hazard, i. 636.
5 McMahon, 203.
6 Langford, 6 and 7.
7 Thurloe, i. 198. Hazard, i 557. Hammond, 20, 21.

CHAP. VII. priving him of his commission from Lord Baltimore, and changing the officers of the province, they at last 1652. June. established a compromise. Stone, with three of his council, was permitted to retain the executive power till further instructions should arrive from England.[1]

1653. April. The dissolution of the Long Parliament threatened a change in the political condition of Maryland; for, it was argued, the only authority, under which Bennett and Clayborne had acted, had expired with the body from which it was derived.[2] In consequence, Stone, 1654. Hatton and his friends, reinstated the rights of Lord Baltimore in their integrity; displacing all officers of the contrary party, they introduced the old council, and declared the condition of the colony, as settled by Bennett and Clayborne, to have been a state of rebellion.[3] A railing proclamation to that effect was published to the Puritans in their church meeting.

The measures were rash and ill advised. No sooner July did Clayborne and his colleague learn the new revolution, than they hastened to Maryland; where it was immediately obvious, that they could be met by no effectual resistance. Unable to persuade Stone, "in a peaceable and loving way," to abandon the claims of Lord Baltimore, they yet compelled him to surrender his commission and the government into their hands. This being done, Clayborne and Bennett appointed a board of ten commissioners, to whom the administration of Maryland was intrusted.[4]

Intolerance followed upon this arrangement; for parties had necessarily become identified with religious

1 Strong, 2 and 3. Langford, 7 and 8. Bacon's Preface. McMahon, 204, 205. Chalmers, 122.

2 Langford, 10. Strong, 3.

3 Strong, 3. Hazard, i. 626. The date is there 1653. It was in 1654, as Strong asserts. McMahon, 206, cites Hazard doubtingly. Bacon, 1654, c. xlv. Hammond, 22.

4 Strong, 3, 4, 5. Langford, 11, 12. McMahon, 206. Chalmers, 223.

sects; and Maryland itself was the prize contended for. The Puritans, ever the friends of popular liberty, hostile to monarchy, and equally so to a hereditary proprietary, contended earnestly for every civil liberty; but had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government, by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration, to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the colony. A new assembly, convened at Patuxent, acknowledged the authority of Cromwell; but it also exasperated the whole Romish party by their wanton disfranchisement. An act concerning religion confirmed the freedom of conscience, provided the liberty were not extended to "popery, prelacy,[2] or licentiousness" of opinion. Yet Cromwell, a friend to religious toleration, and willing that the different sects, "like the cedar, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree, should be planted in the wilderness together," never approved the ungrateful decree. He commanded the commissioners "not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government."[3]

CHAP. VII. 1654 Oct

When the proprietary heard of these proceedings, he was indignant at the want of firmness which his lieutenant had displayed.[4] The pretended assembly was esteemed "illegal, mutinous, and usurped;" and Lord Baltimore and his officers determined, under the powers which the charter conferred, to vindicate his supremacy.[5] Towards the end of January, on the arrival of a friendly ship, it was immediately noised abroad, that his patent had been confirmed by the protector; and orders began again to be issued for the entire restoration of his authority. Papists and others[6]

1655

[1] Hammond, 22. Sad State 9.
[2] Bacon, 1654, c. iv
[3] Chalmers, 236.
[4] Hazard, i. 629. Strong.
[5] Langford, 9, 10.
[6] Strong, 5

CHAP. VII. 1655 were commissioned by Stone to raise men in arms, and the leaders of this new revolution were able to surprise and get possession of the provincial records.
Mar. 25. They marched, also, from Patuxent towards Anne Arundel, the chief seat of the republicans, who insisted on naming it Providence. The inhabitants of Providence and their partisans gathered together with the zeal that belongs to the popular party, and with the courage in which Puritans were never deficient. Vain were proclamations, promises, and threats. The party of Stone was attacked and utterly discomfited; he himself, with others, was taken, and would have been put to death but for the respect and affection borne him by some among the insurgents whom he had formerly welcomed to Maryland. He was kept a prisoner during part of the administration of Cromwell;[1] while three of the principal men of the province, sentenced to death by a council of war, were presently executed.[2]

A friend to Lord Baltimore, then in the province, begged of the protector no other boon than that he would "condescend to settle the country by declaring his determinate will."[3] And yet the same causes which led Cromwell to neglect the internal concerns of Virginia, compelled him to pay but little attention to the disturbances in Maryland. On the one hand, he respected the rights of property of Lord Baltimore; on the other, he protected his own political partisans, corresponded with his commissioners, and expressed no displeasure at their exercise of power.[4]

[1] On this occasion were published Strong's Babylon's Fall in Maryland, and Langford's Just and Clear Refutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet, entitled Babylon's Fall in Maryland, 1655. Both are minute, and, in the main, agree. Compare Chalmers; McMahon, 207; Hazard, i. 621—628, and 629, 630; Bacon's Pref.

[2] Hammond, 22, 23.

[3] Barber, in Langford, 15.

[4] Thurloe, i. 724, and iv. 55. Hazard, i. 594, quotes but one of the rescripts. Hammond, 24.

CHAP. VII.

The right to the jurisdiction of Maryland remained, therefore, a disputed question. Fuller, Preston, and the others, appointed by Clayborne, actually possessed authority; while Lord Baltimore, with the apparent sanction of the protector, commissioned[1] Josias Fendall to appear as his lieutenant. Fendall had, the preceding year, been engaged in exciting an insurrection, under pretence of instructions from Stone; he now appeared as an open but unsuccessful insurgent. Little is known of his "disturbance," except that it occasioned a heavy public expenditure.[2]

1656 July 10.

1657 Sept.

Yet the confidence of Lord Baltimore was continued to Fendall, who received anew an appointment to the government of the province. For a season, there was a divided rule; Fendall was acknowledged by the Catholic party in the city of St. Mary's; and the commissioners were sustained by the Puritans of St. Leonard's. At length, the conditions of a compromise were settled; and the government of the whole province was surrendered to the agent of the proprietary. Permission to retain arms; an indemnity for arrears; relief from the oath of fealty; and a confirmation of the acts and orders of the recent Puritan assemblies;—these were the terms of the surrender, and prove the influence of the Puritans.[3]

Nov. 18.

1658

Mar. 24.

Fendall was a weak and impetuous man; but I cannot find any evidence that his administration was stained by injustice. Most of the statutes enacted during his government were thought worthy of being perpetuated. The death of Cromwell left the condition of England uncertain, and might well diffuse a gloom through the counties of Maryland. For ten

1 McMahon, 211.
2 Bacon, 1657, c. viii.
3 Bacon's Preface, and 1658, c. i. McMahon, 211, and Council Proceedings, in McMahon, note to 14

CHAP. VII. years the unhappy province had been distracted by dissensions, of which the root had consisted in the claims that Baltimore had always asserted, and had never been able to establish. What should now be done? England was in a less settled condition than ever. Would the son of Cromwell permanently hold the place of his father? Would Charles II. be restored? Did new revolutions await the colony? new strifes with Virginia, the protector, the proprietary, the king? Wearied with long convulsions, a general
1660. assembly saw no security but in asserting the power of the people, and constituting the government on the
Mar. 12. expression of their will. Accordingly, just one day before that memorable session of Virginia, when the people of the Ancient Dominion adopted a similar system of independent legislation, the representatives of Maryland, convened in the house of Robert Slye, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province. The burgesses of Virginia had assumed to themselves the election of the council; the burgesses of Maryland refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an upper house. In Virginia, Berkeley yielded to the public will; in Maryland, Fendall permitted the power of the people to be proclaimed. The representatives of Maryland, having thus successfully settled the government, and hoping for tranquillity after years of storms, passed an act, making it felony to disturb the order which they had established. No authority would henceforward be recognized, except the assembly, and the king of England.[1] The light of peace promised to dawn upon the province.

[1] Bacon, 1659–60. McMahon, 212. Chalmers, 224, 225. Griffith, 18. Ebeling, v. 709. The German historian is remarkably temperate. All others have been unjust to the legislature of Maryland.

Thus was Maryland, like Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, in full possession of liberty, based upon the practical assertion of the sovereignty of the people. Like Virginia, it had so nearly completed its institutions, that, till the epoch of its final separation from England, it hardly made any further advances towards freedom and independence. CHAP. VII. 1660

Men love liberty, even if it be turbulent; and the colony had increased, and flourished, and grown rich, in spite of domestic dissensions. Its population, in 1660, is variously estimated at eight thousand,[1] and at twelve thousand.[2] The country was dear to its inhabitants. There they desired to spend the remnant of their lives; there they coveted to make their graves.[3]

1 Fuller's Worthies, Ed. 1662. 2 Chalmers, 226. 3 Hammond, 25

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PILGRIMS.

CHAP. VIII. The settlement of New England was a result of the Reformation;[1] not of the contest between the new opinions and the authority of Rome, but of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters and the established Anglican church.

Who will venture to measure the consequences of actions by the apparent humility or the remoteness of their origin? The mysterious influence of that Power which enchains the destinies of states, overruling the decisions of sovereigns and the forethought of statesmen, often deduces the greatest events from the least commanding causes. A Genoese adventurer, discovering America, changed the commerce of the world; an obscure German, inventing the printing-press, rendered possible the universal diffusion of increased intelligence; an Augustine monk, denouncing indulgences, introduced a schism in religion, and changed the foundations of European politics; a young French refugee, skilled alike in theology and civil law, in the duties of magistrates and the dialectics of religious controversy, entering the republic of Geneva, and conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, established a party, of which Englishmen became members, and New England the

[1] Heeren, i. 102, 103

asylum. The enfranchisement of the mind from religious despotism led directly to inquiries into the nature of civil government; and the doctrines of popular liberty, which sheltered their infancy in the wildernesses of the newly-discovered continent, within the short space of two centuries, have infused themselves into the life-blood of every rising state from Labrador to Chili, have erected outposts on the Oregon and in Liberia, and, making a proselyte of enlightened France, have disturbed all the ancient governments of Europe, by awakening the public mind to resistless action, from the shores of Portugal to the palaces of the czars. CHAP. VIII.

The trading company of the west of England, incorporated in the same patent with Virginia, possessed too narrow resources or too little enterprise for success in establishing colonies. The Spaniards, affecting an exclusive right of navigation in the seas of the new hemisphere, captured and confiscated a vessel [1] which Popham, the chief justice of England, and Gorges, the governor of Plymouth, had, with some others, equipped for discovery. But a second and almost simultaneous expedition from Bristol encountered no disasters; and the voyagers, on their return, increased public confidence, by renewing the favorable reports of the country which they had visited.[2] The spirit of adventure was not suffered to slumber; the lord chief justice displayed persevering vigor, for his honor was interested in the success of the company which his influence had contributed to establish; Gorges,[3] the companion and friend of Raleigh, was still reluctant to surrender his 1606 Nov 10

1 Purchas, iv. 1827 and 1832, and ff. Gorges' Briefe Narration, c. iv. Prince's N. E. Chronology, 113, 114. ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 3, 4.

2 Gorges, c. v. 6.

3 The name of Gorges occurs in Hume, c. xliv.; Lingard, viii. 449. Compare Belknap's Biography, i. 347—354. Gorges was ever a sincere royalist.

CHAP. VIII. 1607. sanguine hopes of fortune and domains in America, and, in the next year, two ships were despatched to Northern Virginia, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, and bearing emigrants for a plantation under the presidency of George Popham.[1] After a tedious voyage, Aug. 8. the adventurers reached the coast of America near the mouth of the Kennebec, and, offering public thanks to God for their safety, began their settlement under the auspices of religion, with a government framed as if for a permanent colony. Rude cabins, a storehouse, and some slight fortifications, were rapidly prepared, Dec. 5. and the ships sailed for England, leaving forty-five emigrants in the plantation, which was named St. George. But the winter was intensely cold; the natives, at first friendly, became restless; the storehouse caught fire, and part of the provisions was consumed; the emigrants grew weary of their solitude; they lost Popham, their president, "the only one[2] of the company that died there;" the ships which re- 1608. visited the settlement with supplies, brought news of the death of the chief justice, the most vigorous friend of the settlement in England; and Gilbert, the sole in command at St. George, had, by the decease of his brother, become heir to an estate which invited his presence. So the plantation was abandoned; and the colonists, returning to England, "did coyne many excuses," and sought to conceal their own deficiency of spirit by spreading exaggerated accounts of the rugged poverty of the soil, and the inhospitable sever-

[1] Gorges, c. vii. viii. ix. Purchas, iv. 1828. Smith, ii. 173—175. Belknap, i. 350—354. i. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 251, 252. Williamson's History of Maine, i. 197—203. Prince, 116, 117, 118, 119. Hubbard's N. E. 36, 37.

[2] Chalmers, 79, writes, "*They looked at the numerous graves of the dead;*" drawing on his imagination for embellishments. Compare ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 4. Chalmers, 79, names among those who died, "Gilbert, their chief"—an error.

ity of the climate.[1] But the Plymouth company was dissatisfied with their pusillanimity; Gorges esteemed it a weakness to be frightened at a blast. The idea of a settlement in these northern latitudes was no longer terrific. The American fisheries also constituted a prosperous and well-established business. Three years had elapsed since the French had been settled in their huts at Port Royal; and the ships which carried the English from the Kennebec were on the ocean at the same time with the little squadron of the French, who succeeded in building Quebec, the very summer in which Maine was deserted. CHAP VIII.

The fisheries and the fur-trade were not relinquished; vessels were annually employed in traffic with the Indians; and once,[2] at least, perhaps oftener, a part of a ship's company remained during a winter on the American coast. But new hopes were awakened, 1614 April. when Smith,—who had already obtained distinction in Virginia, and who had, with rare sagacity, discovered, and, with unceasing firmness, asserted, that colonization was the true policy of England,—with two ships, set sail for the coast north of the lands granted by the Virginia patent. The expedition was a private[3] adventure of "four merchants of London and himself," and was very successful. The freights were profitable; the health of the mariners did not suffer; and the whole voyage was accomplished in less than seven months. While the sailors were busy with their hooks and lines, Smith examined the shores from the Penobscot to Cape Cod, prepared a map of the coast,[4]

1 Sir W. Alexander's Map of New England, 30.

2 Gorges, c. x. Prince, 119.

3 Chalmers, 80, erroneously attributes the expedition to the Plymouth company. See Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 19; and in his Historie, ii. 175, 176; Purchas, iv. 1828.

4 Map, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii

CHAP. VIII and named the country New England,—a title which Prince Charles confirmed. The French could boast, with truth, that New France had been colonized before New England obtained a name; Port Royal was older than Plymouth, Quebec than Boston. Yet the voyage was not free from crime. After Smith had departed for England, Thomas Hunt, the master of the second ship, kidnapped a large party of Indians, and, sailing for Spain, sold "the poor innocents" into slavery. It is singular how good is educed from evil: one of the number, escaping from captivity, made his way to London, and, in 1619, was restored to his own country, where he subsequently became an interpreter for English emigrants.[1]

1615. Encouraged by commercial success, Smith next endeavored, in the employment of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and of friends in London, members of the Plymouth company, to establish a colony. Sixteen men[2] were all whom the adventurers destined for the occupation of New England. The attempt was unsuccessful. Smith was forced by extreme tempests to return. Again renewing his enterprise, he suffered from the treachery of his companions, and was, at last, intercepted by French pirates. His ship was taken away; he himself escaped alone, in an open boat, from the harbor of Rochelle.[3] The severest privations in a new settlement would have been less wearisome, than the labors which his enthusiasm now prompted him to undertake. Having published a map and a

[1] Smith's Description of New England, 47. Smith's Generall Historie, ii. 176. Morton's Memorial, 55, and Davis on Morton. Prince, 132. Mourt's Relation, in i. M. H. Coll. viii. 238. Plantation of N. England, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 6, 7.

[2] Williamson's Maine, i. 212 The learned and very valuable historian of Maine confounds this design of Smith to found a colony with his previous voyage for trade and discovery.

[3] Smith, ii. 205—215; and in iii Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 20, 21.

description of New England, he spent many months[1] CHAP VIII.
in visiting the merchants and gentry of the west of
England, to excite their zeal for enterprise in America: 1617
he proposed to the cities, mercantile profits, to be realized in short and safe voyages; to the noblemen, vast dominions; from men of small means, his earnestness concealed the hardships of emigrants, and, upon the dark ground, drew a lively picture of the rapid advancement of fortune by colonial industry, of the abundance of game, the delights of unrestrained liberty; the pleasures to be derived from "angling and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea."[2] The attention of the western company was excited; they began to form vast plans of colonization; Smith was appointed admiral of the country for life; and a renewal of the letters patent, with powers analogous to those possessed by the southern company, became an object of eager solicitation. But a new charter was not obtained with- 1618
out vigorous opposition. "Much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings,"[3] since each party strove to engross all the profits to be derived from America; while the interests of the nation were boldly sustained by others, who were desirous that no monopoly should be conceded to either company. The remonstrances of the Virginia corporation,[4] and a transient regard for the rights of the country, could delay, but not defeat, a measure that was sustained by the personal favorites of the monarch. After two years' entreaty, the ambitious adventurers gained 1620
every thing which they had solicited; and King James Nov. 3.
issued to forty of his subjects, some of them members

1 Smith, ii. 218.
2 Ibid. Historie, ii. 201.
3 Ibid. in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 21. Hubbard, 84, 85. Gorges. Purchas, iv. 1830, 1831.
4 Stith. 185. Hazard, i. 390

CHAP. VIII. 1620. of his household and his government, the most wealthy and powerful of the English nobility, a patent,[1] which in American annals, and even in the history of the world, has but one parallel. The adventurers and their successors were incorporated as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England, in America." The territory conferred on the patentees in absolute property, with unlimited jurisdiction, the sole powers of legislation, the appointment of all officers and all forms of government, extended, in breadth, from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and, in length, from the Atlantic to the Pacific; that is to say, nearly all the inhabited British possessions to the north of the United States, all New England, New York, half of New Jersey, very nearly all Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country to the west of these states, comprising, and, at the time, believed to comprise,[2] much more than a million of square miles, and capable of sustaining far more than two hundred millions of inhabitants, were, by a single signature of King James, given away to a corporation within the realm, composed of but forty individuals. The grant was absolute and exclusive: it conceded the land and islands; the rivers and the harbors; the mines and the fisheries. Without the leave of the council of Plymouth, not a ship might sail into a harbor from Newfoundland to the latitude of Philadelphia; not a skin might be purchased in the interior; not a fish might be caught on the coast; not an emigrant might tread the soil. No regard was shown for the

[1] Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 546—567. Hazard, i. 103—118. Baylies, i. 160—185. Compare Hubbard, c. xxx.; Chalmers, 81—85.

[2] Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 31, estimates the land at one million one hundred and twenty thousand square miles—a computation far below the truth.

liberties of those who might become inhabitants of the colony; they were to be ruled, without their own consent, by the corporation in England. The patent favored only the cupidity of the proprietors, and possessed all the worst features of a commercial monopoly A royal proclamation was soon issued, enforcing its provisions; and a revenue was already considered certain from an onerous duty on all tonnage employed in the American fisheries.[1] The results which grew out of the concession of this charter, form a new proof, if any were wanting, of that mysterious connection of events by which Providence leads to ends that human councils had not conceived. The patent left the emigrants at the mercy of the unrestrained power of the corporation; and it was under concessions from that plenary power, confirmed, indeed, by the English monarch, that institutions the most favorable to colonial liberty were established. The patent yielded every thing to the avarice of the corporation; the very extent of the grant rendered it of little value. The jealousy of the English nation, incensed at the concession of vast monopolies by the exercise of the royal prerogative, immediately prompted the house of commons to question the validity of the grant;[2] and the French nation, whose traders had been annually sending home rich freights of furs, while the English were disputing about charters and commissions, derided the tardy action of the British monarch in bestowing lands and privileges, which their own sovereign, seventeen years before, had appropriated.[3] The patent was designed to hasten plantations,

CHAP VIII. 1620

1621 April 25.

[1] Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 32. Smith, ii. 263.
[2] Chalmers, 100—102. Parliamentary Debates, 1620–1, i. 260 318, 319.
[3] iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 20.

CHAP. VIII. in the belief that men would eagerly throng to the coast, and put themselves under the protection of the council; and, in fact, adventurers were delayed, through fear of infringing the rights of a powerful company.[1] While the English monopolists were wrangling about their exclusive privileges, the first permanent colony on the soil of New England was established without the knowledge of the corporation, and without the aid of King James.

The Reformation in England—an event which had been long and gradually prepared among the people by the opinions and followers of Wickliffe, and in the government by increasing and successful resistance to the usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—was at length abruptly established during the reign and in conformity with the passions of a despotic monarch. The acknowledgment of the right of private judgment,[2] far from being the cause of the separation from Rome, was one of its latest fruits. Luther was more dogmatical than his opponents; though the deep philosophy with which his mind was imbued, repelled the use of violence to effect conversion in religion.
1522. He was wont to protest against propagating reform by persecution and massacres; and, with wise moderation, an admirable knowledge of human nature, a familiar and almost ludicrous quaintness of expression, he would deduce from his great principle of justification by faith alone the sublime doctrine of the freedom
1553 of conscience.[3] Yet Calvin, many years after, anxious-

[1] iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 32. Smith, ii. 263.

[2] Under Edward VI. intolerance sanctioned by law. See Rymer, xv. 182. 250, under Elizabeth. Rymer, xv. 740 and 741. Compare Lingard, vii. 286, 287; Hallam's England, i. 130, 131, 132, 133.

[3] Nollem vi et cæde pro evangelio certari. Compare the passages from Luther's Seven Sermons, delivered in March, 1522, at Wittenberg, quoted in Planck's Geschichte des Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs, ii. 68—72. Summa summarum! Predigen will ichs, sagen

ly engaged in dispelling ancient superstitions, was still fearful of the results of skeptical reform, and, in his opinions on heresy and its punishment, shared the unhappy error of his time. CHAP VIII.

In England, so far was the freedom of private inquiry from being recognized as a right, the means of forming a judgment on religious subjects was denied. 1534
The act of supremacy,[1] which effectually severed the English nation from the Roman see, contained no clause favorable to religious liberty. Nov 4.
It was but a vindication of the sovereign franchise of the English monarch against foreign interference; it did not aim at enfranchising the English church, far less the English people, or the English mind. The king of England became the pope in his own dominions; and heresy was still accounted the greatest of all crimes.[2] The right of correcting errors of religious faith became, by the suffrage of parliament, a branch of the royal prerogative; and, as active minds among the people were continually proposing new schemes of doctrine, a statute, alike arrogant in its pretensions and vindictive in its menaces, was, after great opposition in parliament,[3] enacted "for abolishing diversity of opinions."[4] 1539
All the Roman Catholic doctrines were asserted, except the supremacy of Rome. The pope could praise Henry VIII. for orthodoxy, while he excommunicated

will ichs, schreiben will ichs, aber zwingen, dringen mit Gewalt will ich niemand; denn der Glaube will willig, ungenöthigt und ohne Zwang angenommen werden. I have quoted these words, which are in harmony with Luther's doctrines and his works, as a reply to those, who, like Turner, in his History, iii. 135, erroneously charge the great German reformer with favoring persecution.

1 25 Henry VIII., c. xix. xx. xxi. Statutes, iii. 460—471. 26 Henry VIII., c. i. iii. xiii. Statutes, iii. 492, 493—499. 508, 509. Lingard, iv. 266—270, and vi. 281—283.

2 Henry, xii. 53. Turner, ii. 349—353. Mackintosh, ii. 147—150.

3 Strype's Memorials, i. 352.

4 31 Henry VIII., c. xiv. Statutes, iii. 739—743. Lingard, vi. 380—386. Bossuet, Hist. des Variations, l. vii. c. xxiv.—xl. Henry, xii. 84.

CHAP. VIII.

him for disobedience. He commended to the wavering emperor the English sovereign as a model for soundness of belief, and anathematized him only for contumacy.[1] It was Henry's pride to defy the authority of the Roman bishop, and yet to enforce the doctrines of the Roman church. He was as tenacious of his reputation for Catholic orthodoxy, as of his claim to spiritual dominion. He disdained submission, and detested heresy.

Nor was Henry VIII. slow to sustain his new prerogatives. He rejected the advice of the commons, as of "brutes and inexpert folks," of men as unfit to advise him as "blind men are to judge of colors."[2] According to ancient usage, no sentence of death, awarded by the ecclesiastical courts, could be carried into effect, until a writ had been obtained from the king. The regulation had been adopted in a spirit of mercy, securing to the temporal authorities the power of restraining persecution.[3] The heretic might appeal from the atrocity of the priest to the mercy of the sovereign. But now, what hope could remain, when the two authorities were united; and the law, which had been enacted as a protection of the subject, was become the powerful instrument of tyranny! The establishment of the English church under the king, was inexorably sustained. No virtue, no eminence, conferred security. Not the forms of worship merely, but the minds of men, were declared subordinate to the government; faith, not less than ceremony, was to vary with the acts of parliament. Death was denounced against the Catholic who denied the king's supremacy, and the Protestant who doubted his creed.

1 Fra Paolo, i. 82. 2 Herbert's Henry VIII., 418, 419.
3 Neal's Puritans, i. 55.

Had Luther been an Englishman, he might have perished by fire.[1] In the latter part of his life, Henry revoked the general permission of reading the Scriptures, and limited the privilege to merchants and nobles. He always adhered to his old religion;[2] he believed its most extravagant doctrines to the last, and died in the Roman, rather than in the Protestant faith.[3] But the awakening intelligence of a great nation could not be terrified into a passive lethargy. The environs of the court displayed no resistance to the capricious monarch; a subservient parliament yielded him absolute authority in religion;[4] but the advancing genius of the age, even though it sometimes faltered in its progress along untried paths, steadily demanded the emancipation of the public mind.

CHAP VIII.

The accession of Edward VI. led the way to the establishment of Protestantism in England, and, at the same time, gave life to the germs of the difference which was eventually to divide the English. A change in the reformation had already been effected among the Swiss, and especially at Geneva. Luther had based his reform upon the sublime but simple truth which lies at the basis of morals—the paramount value of character and purity of conscience; the superiority of right dispositions over ceremonial exactness; or, as he expressed it, justification by faith alone. But he hesitated to deny the real presence, and was indifferent to the observance of external ceremonies. Calvin, with sterner dialectics, sanctioned by the influence of the purest life, and by his power as the ablest writer of his age, attacked the Roman doctrines

1547 Jan. 28.

1 Turner's England, iii. 140.
2 Ibid. ii. 352.
3 Bossuet, Hist. des Variations, i. viii. c. iii. iv. and xxiv.—xl. Henry's Great Britain, xii. p. 107.
4 37 Henry VIII., c. xvii. Statutes, iii. 1009.

CHAP. VIII. respecting the communion, and esteemed as a commemoration the rite which the Catholics reverenced as a sacrifice. Luther acknowledged princes as his protectors, and, in the ceremonies of worship, favored magnificence as an aid to devotion; Calvin was the guide of Swiss republics, and avoided, in their churches, all appeals to the senses as a crime against religion. Luther resisted the Roman church for its immorality: Calvin for its idolatry. Luther exposed the folly of superstition, ridiculed the hair-shirt and the scourge, the purchased indulgence, and the dearly-bought masses for the dead; Calvin shrunk from their criminality with impatient horror. Luther permitted the cross and the taper, pictures and images, as things of indifference; Calvin demanded a spiritual worship in its utmost purity.

The reign of Edward, giving safety to Protestants, soon brought to light that both sects of the reformed church existed in England. The one party, sustained by Cranmer, desired moderate reforms; the other, countenanced by the protector, were the implacable adversaries of the ceremonies of the Roman church

1549 and 1552. It was still attempted to enforce[1] uniformity by menaces of persecution; but the most offensive of the Roman doctrines were expunged from the liturgy. The tendency of the public mind favored a greater simplicity in the forms of devotion; the spirit of inquiry was active; not a rite of the established worship, not a point in church government, escaped unexamined, not a vestment nor a ceremony remained, of which the propriety had not been denied. The spirit of inquiry rebelled against prescription. A more complete

[1] 2 and 3 Edward VI., c. i. Statutes, iv 36—39. Rymer, xv. 181—183, and 250—252.

reform was demanded; and the friends of the established liturgy expressed in the prayer-book itself a wish for its furtherance.[1] The party strongest in numbers pleaded expediency for retaining much that had been sanctioned by ancient usage; while abhorrence of superstition excited the other party to demand the boldest innovations. The austere principle was now announced, that not even a ceremony should be tolerated, unless it was enjoined by the word of God. And this was Puritanism. The church of England, at least in its ceremonial part, was established by an act of parliament, or a royal ordinance; Puritanism, zealous for independence, admitted no voucher but the Bible—a fixed rule, which it would allow neither parliament, nor hierarchy, nor king, to interpret. The Puritans adhered to the established church as far as their interpretations of the Bible seemed to warrant; but no further, not even in things of indifference. They would yield nothing in religion to the temporal sovereign; they would retain nothing that seemed a relic of the religion which they had renounced. They asserted the equality of the plebeian clergy, and directed their fiercest attacks against the divine right of bishops, as the only remaining strong-hold of superstition. In most of these views they were sustained by the reformers of the continent. Bucer and Peter Martyr[3] both complained of the backwardness of the reformation in England; Calvin wrote in the same strain.[4] When Hooper, who had gone into exile in

[1] Neal's Puritans, i. 121. Neal's New England, i. 51.

[2] So Cartwright, a few years later, in his Reply to Whitgift, 27: "In matters of the church, there may be nothing done but by the word of God." In his Sec. Reply, 1575, p. 81: "It is not enough, that the Scripture speaketh not against them, unless it speak for them."

[3] Strype's Memorials, ii. c. xxviii.

[4] Hallam's England, i. 140.

CHAP. VIII. the latter years of Henry VIII., was appointed bishop of Gloucester, he, for a time, refused[1] to be consecrated

1550 July. in the vestments which the law required; and his refusal marks the era when the Puritans first existed as a separate party. They demanded a thorough reform: the established church desired to check the propensity to change. The strict party repelled all union with the Catholics; the politic party aimed at conciliating their compliance. The Churchmen, with, perhaps, a wise moderation, differed from the ancient forms as little as possible, and readily adopted the use of things indifferent; the Puritans could not sever themselves too widely from the Roman usages, and sought glaring occasions to display their antipathy. The surplice and the square cap, for several generations, remained things of importance; for they became the badges of a party. They were rejected as the livery of superstition—the outward sign, that prescription was to prevail over reason, and authority to control inquiry. The unwilling use of them was evidence of religious servitude.

1553 to 1558. The reign of Mary involved both parties in danger, but they whose principles wholly refused communion with Rome, were placed in the greatest peril. Rogers and Hooper, the first martyrs of Protestant England, were Puritans; and it may be remarked, that, while Cranmer, the head and founder of the English church, desired, almost to the last, by delays, recantations, and entreaties, to save himself from the horrid death to which he was doomed, the Puritan martyrs never sought, by concessions, to escape the flames. For

[1] Strype's Memorials, ii. 226, and Repository, ii. 118—132. Hallam, i. 141. Neal's Puritans, i. 108—113. Prince, 282—307. Prince has written with great diligence and distinctness.

them, compromise was itself apostasy. The offer of pardon could not induce Hooper to waver, nor the pains of a lingering death impair his fortitude. He suffered by a very slow fire, and at length died as quietly as a child in his bed.

A large part of the English clergy returned to their submission to the see of Rome; others firmly adhered to the reformation, which they had adopted from conviction; and very many, who had taken advantage of the laws[1] of Edward, sanctioning the marriage of the clergy, had, in their wives and children, given hostages for their fidelity to the Protestant cause. Multitudes, therefore, hurried into exile to escape the grasp of vindictive bigotry; but even in foreign lands, two parties among the emigrants were visible; and the sympathies of a common exile could not immediately eradicate the rancor of religious divisions. The one party[2] aimed at renewing abroad the forms of discipline which had been sanctioned by the English parliaments in the reign of Edward; the Puritans, on the contrary, endeavored to sweeten exile by a complete emancipation from ceremonies which they had reluctantly observed. The sojourning in Frankfort was imbittered by the anger of consequent divisions; but Time, the great calmer of the human passions, softened the asperities of controversy; and a reconciliation of the two parties was prepared by concessions[3] to the Puritans. For the circumstances of their abode on the continent were well adapted to strengthen the influence of the

1 2 and 3 Edward VI., c. xxi., 5 and 6 Edward VI., c. xii., in Statutes, iv. 67, and 146, 147. Strype's Memorials, iii. 108.

2 Discourse of the Troubles in Frankfort.

3 Ibid., edition of 1642, p. 160, 161, 162, 163. "We will joyne with you to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of all offensive ceremonies." Prince, 287, 288.

CHAP. VIII. stricter sect. While the companions of their exile had, with the most bitter intolerance, been rejected by Denmark and Northern Germany,[1] the English emigrants received in Switzerland the kindest welcome; their love for the rigorous austerity of a spiritual worship was confirmed by the stern simplicity of the republic; and some of them had enjoyed in Geneva the instructions and the friendship of Calvin.

1558. On the death of Mary, the Puritans returned to England, with still stronger antipathies to the forms of worship and the vestures, which they now repelled as associated with the cruelties of Roman intolerance at home, and which they had seen so successfully rejected by the churches of Switzerland. The pledges which had been given at Frankfort and Geneva, to promote further reforms, were redeemed.[2] But the controversy did not remain a dispute about ceremonies; it was modified by the personal character of the English sovereign, and became identified with the political parties in the state. The first act of parliament in the reign of Elizabeth declared the supremacy[3] of the crown in the state ecclesiastical; and the uniformity of common prayer was soon established under the severest penalties.[4] In these enactments, the common zeal to assert the Protestant ascendency left out of sight the scruples of the Puritans.

The early associations of the younger daughter of Henry VIII. led her to respect the faith of the Catholics, and to love the magnificence of their worship. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains, who had

[1] Planck's Geschichte des Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs, b. v. t. ii. p. 35—45, and 69.

[2] Prince, 288.

[3] 1 Elizabeth, c. i. Statutes, iv. 350—355. Hallam, i. 152. Mackintosh, iii. 45, 46.

[4] 1 Elizabeth, c. ii. Hallam, i 153. Mackintosh, iii. 46, 47.

asserted the real presence; and, on a revision of the creed of the English church, the tenet of transubstantiation was no longer expressly rejected. To calm the fury of religious intolerance, let it be forever remembered, that the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, which, by the statutes of the realm in the reign of Edward VI., Englishmen were punished for believing, and in that of Henry VIII. were burned at the stake for denying, was, in the reign of Elizabeth, left undecided, as a question of national indifference. She long struggled to retain images, the crucifix, and tapers, in her private chapel; she was inclined to offer prayers to the Virgin; she favored the invocation of saints.[1] She insisted upon the continuance of the celibacy of the clergy, and, during her reign, their marriages took place only by connivance.[2] For several years, she desired and was able to conciliate the Catholics into a partial conformity.[3] The Puritans denounced concession to the Papists, even in things indifferent; but during the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had conformed in all things, and she still retained an attachment for many tenets that were deemed the most objectionable. Could she, then, favor the party of rigid reform?

Besides the influence of early education, the love of authority would not permit Elizabeth to cherish the new sect among Protestants—a sect which had risen in defiance of all ordinary powers of the world, and which could justify its existence only on a strong claim to natural liberty. The Catholics were friends to monarchy, if not to the monarch; they upheld the forms of regal government, if they were not friends to

[1] Burnett, part ii. b. iii. No. 6. Heylin, 124. Neal's Puritans, i. 191, 192. Mackintosh, iii. 161. Hume, c. xlv. Hallam, i. 124.

[2] Neal's Puritans, i. 205, 206. Strype's Parker, 107.

[3] Southey's Book of the Church, i. 257, 258.

CHAP VIII. the person of the queen. But the Puritans were the harbingers of a revolution; the hierarchy charged them with seeking a popular state; and Elizabeth openly declared, that they were more perilous than the Romanists. At a time when the readiest mode of reaching the minds of the common people was through the pulpit, and when the preachers would often speak with plainness and homely energy on all the events of the day, their claim to "the liberty of prophesying" was similar to the modern demand of the liberty of the press; and the free exercise of private judgment threatened, not only to disturb the uniformity of the national worship, but to impair the royal authority and erect the dictates of conscience into a tribunal, before which sovereigns might be arraigned.[1] The Puritan clergy were fast becoming tribunes of the people, and the pulpit was the place for freedom of rebuke and discussion. The queen long desired to establish the national religion mid-way between sectarian licentiousness and Roman supremacy; and when her policy in religion was once declared, the pride of authority would brook no opposition. By degrees she occupied politically the position of the head of Protestantism; Catholic sovereigns conspired against her kingdom; the convocation of cardinals proposed measures for her deposition; the pope, in his excommunications, urged her subjects to rebellions. Then it was, that, as the Roman Catholics were no longer treated with forbearance, so the queen, struggling, from regard to her safety, to preserve unity among her friends, hated the Puritans, as mutineers in the camp.

1563 Jan. 12. The popular voice was not favorable to a rigorous enforcement of the ceremonies. In the first Prot-

[1] Cartwright's Second Reply, 158—170. Hallam. i. 254

estant convocation of the clergy under Elizabeth, CHAP VIII.
though the square cap and the surplice found in the queen a resolute friend, and though there were in the assembly many, who, at heart, preferred the old religion, the proposition to abolish a part of the ceremonies was lost in the lower house by the majority of a single vote.[1] Nearly nine years passed away, before the thirty-nine articles, which were then adopted, were confirmed by parliament; and the act, 1571
by which they were finally established, required assent to those articles only, which concern the confession of faith and the doctrine of the sacraments[2]— a limitation which the Puritans interpreted in their favor. The house of commons often displayed an earnest zeal for a further reformation;[3] and its active 1565 Mar.
interference was prevented only by the authority of the queen.

When rigorous orders for enforcing conformity were first issued,[4] the Puritans were rather excited to defiance than intimidated. Of the London ministers, about thirty refused subscription,[5] and men began to speak openly of a secession from the church.[6] At length, a separate congregation was formed; im- 1567
mediately the government was alarmed; and the June

[1] Strype's Annals, i. 338, 339. Hallam, i. 238. Prince, 289 -293.

[2] Strype's Annals, ii. 71.

[3] Prince, 300.

[4] Strype's Annals, i. 460, 461. Appendix to Strype's Parker, b. ii. Do. 24.

[5] Strype's Annals, i. 462.

[6] Grindall, in Prince. Cartwright's Second Reply, p. 38. "Not for hatred to the estates of the church of England, but for love to a better."

How little the early Puritans knew of the true results of their doctrines of independence of the state in religious matters, is evident from such passages as these, from Cartwright's Second Reply— "Heretykes oughte to be put to deathe nowe. If this be bloudie, and extreme, I am contente to be so counted withe the holie Goste." p. 115. "I denie that uppon repentance ther owghte to followe any pardon of deathe." p. 116. "The magistrates which punish murther and are lose in punishing the breaches of the first table, begynne at the wronge end." p. 117. The writer continues, displaying intense and consistent bigotry.

CHAP. VIII. leading men and several women were sent to Bridewell for a year.[1] In vain did some of the best English statesmen of the day favor moderation. Grindall had so sincere a reluctance to persecute, that he was himself charged with secretly favoring Puritanism. The temper of the times is marked by his reply. He de-
1574. June 26. nied the charge, not as a falsehood only, but as a calumny, declaring, that "some incarnate, never-sleeping devil had wrought him this wrong." The charge of lenity he repelled as a slander on his office; and claimed sincerity in persecution as essential to his
1575. Feb. 15. good name.[2] He succeeded in becoming archbishop. Yet Grindall was by nature averse to violence, and when placed at the head of the English clergy, con-
1583. tinued till his death to merit the censure of forbearance.

1581. The Puritans, as a body, had avoided a separation from the church. They had desired a reform, and not a schism. When, by espousing a party, a man puts a halter round his neck, and is thrust out from the career of public honor, it may be the rash, the least cautious, and, therefore, the least persevering, who will be the first to display their opinions. So it was in the party of the Puritans. There began to grow up among them a class of men who carried opposition to the church of England to the extreme, and refused to hold communion with a church of which they condemned the ceremonies and the government. Henry VIII. had enfranchised the English crown; Elizabeth had enfranchised the Anglican church: the Puritans claimed equality for the plebeian clergy; the Independents asserted the liberty of each individua mind to discover

[1] Strype's Parker, 242. Strype's Grindall, 114, 115.

[2] Murdin's State Papers, 275, in Mackintosh's Continuator, iii 261 Had Prince seen this letter, he would hardly have called Grindall a Puritan. See Prince. 298

truth in the word of God." The reformation had begun in England with the monarch; had extended among the nobility; had been developed under the guidance of a hierarchy; and had but slowly penetrated the masses. The party of the Independents was plebeian in its origin, and carried the principle of intellectual enfranchisement from authority into the houses of the common people. Its adherents were "neither gentry nor beggars." The most noisy advocate of the new opinion was Brown, a man of rashness, possessing neither true courage nor constancy; zealous, but fickle; dogmatical, but shallow. He has acquired historical notoriety, because his hot-headed indiscretion urged him to undertake the defence of separation. 1582
He suffered much oppression; he was often imprisoned; he was finally compelled to go into exile. The congregation which he had gathered, and which banished itself with him, was composed of persons hasty and unstable like himself; it was soon dispersed by its own dissensions. Brown eventually purchased a living in the English church by conformity.[1] He could sacrifice his own reputation; "he forsook the Lord, so the Lord forsook him."[2] The principles of which the intrepid assertion had alone given him distinction, lay deeply rooted in the public mind; and, as they had not derived life from his support, they did not suffer from his apostasy.

From this time there was a division among the op- 1582
ponents of the church of England. The Puritans acknowledged its merits, but desired its reform; the

[1] Fuller's Church History, b. ix. 167, 168, 169. Neal's Puritans, i. 376—378.

[2] John Robinson's Justification of Separation, 54—a tract of great merit, containing doctrines which necessarily led to the assertion of the freedom of conscience. I use the copy which once belonged to William Bradford, and which is now in the library of Robinson's church.

CHAP. VIII. Separatists denounced it as an idolatrous institution, false to Christianity and to truth: the Puritans considered it as the temple of God, in which they were to worship, though its altars might need purification; the Separatists regarded the truths which it might profess, as holy things in the custody of the profane, the Ark of the Lord in the hands of Philistines. The enmity between the divisions of the party eventually became bitter. The Puritans reproached the Brownists with ill-advised precipitancy, and in return were censured for paltering cowardice. The one party abhorred the ceremonies which were a bequest of Popery; the other party reprobated the Establishment itself. The Puritans desired to amend; the Brownists, to destroy and rebuild. The feud became bitter in England, and eventually led to great political results; but the controversy could not be continued beyond the Atlantic, for it required to be nourished by the presence of the hierarchy.

1583 Sept. 23. The accession of Whitgift marks the epoch of extreme and consistent rigor in the public councils; for the new archbishop was sincerely attached to the English church, and, from a regard to religion, enforced the conformity which the queen desired as the best support of her power. He was a strict disciplinarian, and wished to govern the clergy of the realm as he would rule the members of a college. Subscriptions were now required to points which before had been eluded;[1] the kingdom rung with the complaints for deprivation; the most learned and diligent of the ministry[2] were driven from their places; and those who were introduced to read the liturgy, were so ignorant, that few of them could preach. Did

[1] Neal's Puritans, i. 396. [2] Hallam's England, i. 270

men listen to their deprived pastors in the recesses of forests, the offence, if discovered, was visited by fines and imprisonment. A court of high commission was established for the detection and punishment of non-conformity, and was invested with powers as arbitrary as those of the Spanish inquisitors.[1] Men were obliged to answer, on oath, every question proposed, either against others or against themselves. In vain did the sufferers murmur; in vain did parliament disapprove the commission, which was alike illegal and arbitrary; in vain did Burleigh remonstrate against a system so intolerant, that "the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to trap their preys."[2] The archbishop would have deemed forbearance a weakness; and the queen was ready to interpret any freedom in religion as a treasonable denial of her supremacy. Two men were hanged for distributing Brown's tract on the liberty of prophesying;[3] that is, a tract on the liberty of the pulpit.

CHAP. VIII. 1583 · 1584 July 1. · 1583

The party thus persecuted were the most efficient opponents of Popery. "The Puritans," said Burleigh, "are over squeamish and nice, yet their careful catechising and diligent preaching lessen and diminish the Papistical numbers."[4] But for the Puritans, the old religion would have retained the affections of the multitude. If Elizabeth reformed the court, the ministers, whom she persecuted, reformed the commons. That the English people became Protestant is due to the Puritans. How, then, could the party be subdued? The spirit of brave and conscientious men can-

1 Strype's Annals, iii. 180. Hallam's England, i. 271—273. Rymer, xvi. 291—297, June 15, 1596, and 546—551, August 26, 1603. Mackintosh, iii. 261, 262. Lingard, vii. 266.

2 Burleigh, in Strype's Whitgift, 157.

3 Strype's Annals, iii. 186. Fuller's Church History, b. ix. 169.

4 Somer's Tracts, fourth collection, 103.

CHAP. VIII. not be broken. No part is left but to tolerate or destroy. Extermination could alone produce conformity.
1593. In a few years, it was said in parliament, that there were in England twenty thousand of those who frequented conventicles.[1] It was proposed to banish them, as the Moors had been banished from Spain, and as the Huguenots were afterwards driven from France. This measure was not adopted; but a law of savage ferocity, ordering those, who, for a month, should be absent from the English service, to be interrogated as to their belief, menaced the obstinate non-conformists with exile or with death.[2]

Holland offered an asylum against the bitter severity of this statute. A religious society, founded by the Independents at Amsterdam, continued to exist for a century, and served as a point of hope for the exiles; while, through the influence of Whitgift, in England,
1593. April 6. Barrow and Greenwood, men of unimpeached loyalty, were selected as examples, and hanged at Tyburn for their opinions.[3]

The queen repented that she had sanctioned the execution. Her age and the prospect of favor to Puritanism from her successor, conspired to check the spirit of persecution. The leaders of the church became more prudent; and by degrees bitterness subsided. The Independents had, it is true, been nearly exterminated; but the number of the non-conforming clergy, after forty years of molestation, had increased, their popularity was more deeply rooted, and their enmity to the established order was irreconcilable.

1 D'Ewes's Jour. 517. Strype's Whitgift, 417. Neal's Puritans, i. 516.

2 35 Eliz. c. i. Stat. iv. 841—843. Parl. Hist. 863. Neal's Puritans, i. 513—515. Neal's New England, i. 60.

3 Strype's Whitgift, 414, &c. Neal's Puritans, i. 526, 527. Roger Williams's Truth and Peace, 237

Their followers already constituted a powerful political party; inquired into the nature of government, in parliament opposed monopolies, limited the royal prerogatives, and demanded a reform of ecclesiastical abuses. "The precious spark of liberty," says an historian who was never accused of favoring the Puritans, "had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone." Popular liberty, which used to animate its friends by appeals to the examples of ancient republics, now listened to a voice from the grave of Wickliffe, from the ashes of Huss, from the vigils of Calvin. Victorious over her foreign enemies, Elizabeth never could crush the religious sect, of which the increase seemed dangerous to the state. Her career was full of glory abroad; it was unsuccessful against the progress of opinion at home. In the latter years of her reign, her popularity declined; and her death was the occasion of little regret. "In four days, she was forgotten."[1] The multitude, fond of change, welcomed her successor with shouts; but when the character of that successor was better known, they persuaded themselves that they had revered Elizabeth to the last, and that her death had been honored by inconsolable grief.

CHAP. VIII.

The accession of King James would, it was believed, introduce a milder system; and the Puritans might hope even for favor. But the personal character of the new monarch could not inspire confidence.

1603 April 3.

The pupil of Buchanan was not destitute of learning nor unskilled in rhetoric. Protected from profligate debauchery by the austerity of public morals in Scotland, and incapable of acting the part of a statesman, he had aimed at the reputation of a "most learned

[1] Carte's England, iii. 707

CHAP. VIII. 1603. clerk," and had been so successful, that Bacon,[1] with equivocal flattery, pronounced him incomparable for learning among kings, and Sully, who knew him well, esteemed him the wisest fool in Europe.—The man of letters, who possesses wealth without the capacity for active virtue, often learns to indulge in the vacancy of contemplative enjoyments, and, slumbering on his post, abandons himself to pleasant dreams. This is the euthanasia of his honor. The reputation of King James was lost more ignobly. At the mature age of thirty-six he ascended the throne of England; and, for the first time acquiring the opportunity of displaying the worthlessness of his character, he exulted in the freedom of self-indulgence; in idleness and gluttony. The French ambassador despised him for his frivolous amusements;[2] gross licentiousness in his vicinity was unreproved; and the manners of the palace became so coarsely profligate, that even the women of his court reeled in his presence in a state of disgusting inebriety.[3]

The life of James, as a monarch, was full of meannesses. Personal beauty became the qualification of a minister of state. The interests of England were sacrificed, that his son might marry the daughter of a powerful king. His passions were as feeble as his will. His egregious vanity desired perpetual flattery; and no hyperboles excited his distrust. He boasted that England, even in the days of Elizabeth, had been governed by his influence; by proclamation, he forbad the people to talk of state affairs;[4] and in reply to the complaints of his commons, he in-

1 Bacon's Works, iv. 436.
2 Lingard's England, ix. 107.
3 Harrington's Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 348—350.
4 Rapin's England, ii. 202. Sully's Memoirs, l. xv.

sisted that he was and would be the father of their country.[1] CHAP. VIII.

Dissimulation is the vice of those who have neither true judgment nor courage. King James, from his imbecility, was false, and sometimes vindicated his falsehood, as though deception and cunning had been worthy of a king. But he was an awkward liar, rather than a crafty dissembler.[2] He could, before parliament, call God to witness his sincerity, when he was already resolved on being insincere. His cowardice was such, that he feigned a fondness for Carr, whose arrest for murder he had secretly ordered. He was afraid of his wife; could be governed by being overawed; and was easily intimidated by the vulgar insolence of Buckingham.[3] In Scotland, he solemnly declared his attachment[4] to the Puritan discipline and doctrines; but it was from his fear of open resistance. The pusillanimous man assents from cowardice, and recovers boldness with the assurance of impunity. 603

Demonology was a favorite topic with King James. He demonstrated with erudition the reality of witchcraft; through his solicitation it was made, by statute, a capital offence; he could tell "why the devil doth work more with auncient women than with others;" and hardly a year of his reign went by, but some helpless crone perished on the gallows, to satisfy the vanity and confirm the dialectics of the royal author.

King James was sincerely attached to Protestantism.[5] He prided himself on his skill in theological learning, and challenged the praise of Europe as a subtle con-

1 Cobbett's Parl. Hist. v. i. p. 1504.
2 Hallam's England, i. 404.
3 Clarendon's Rebellion, i. 16. Hume, c. xlix.
4 Calderwood's Church of Scotland, 286.
5 Bentivoglio, Relazione di Fiandra, parte ii. c. iii. Op. Storiche, i. 206, 207.

CHAP. VIII. troversialist. With the whole force of English diplomacy, he suggested the propriety of burning an Ar-
1603 minian professor of Holland,[1] while he, at the same time, refuted the errors of the heretic in a harmless tract. He indulged his vanity in a public discussion, and, when the argument was over, procured himself the gratification of burning his opponent at the stake.[2] His mind had been early and deeply imbued with the doctrines of Calvinism; but he loved arbitrary power better than the tenets of Knox; and, when the Arminians in England favored royalty, King James became an Arminian. He steadily adhered to his love of flattery and his love of ease; but he had no fixed principles of conduct or belief.

Such was the king of England, at a period when the limits of royal authority were not as yet clearly defined. Such was the man to whose decision the Puritans must refer the consideration of their claims. Would he be faithful to the principles in which he had been educated? He had called the church of Scotland "the sincerest kirk of the world;" he had censured the service of England as "an evil said mass."[3] Would he retain for Puritans the favor which he had promised?

There were not wanting statesmen whose more profound philosophy favored a liberal toleration. Lord Bacon, in whose vigorous mind the truths of political wisdom had been sown by Burleigh in deep furrows, cherished the established worship, and yet advised concessions,[4] regarding the church as the eye of Eng-

1 Winwood's Memorials, iii. 290. 293. 295. 298. 316. 339. 357, and other places. Rapin's England, ii. 179, 180.

2 Lingard's England, ix. 217, 218. Prince, 127.

3 Calderwood, 286, year 1590.

4 Bacon's Works, ii. 541.

land, in which there might yet be a blemish. The divisions in religion seemed to him a less evil than the violent measures of prevention. The wound, said he, 's not dangerous, unless we poison it with our remedies.—The wrongs of the Puritans may hardly be dissembled or excused.—The silencing of ministers for the sake of enforcing the ceremonies, is, in this scarcity of good preachers, a punishment that lighteth upon the people.—The bishops should keep one eye open to look upon the good that those men do.—On subjects of religion, he says of himself, he was always for moderate counsels.[1] Nor did he fear inquiry; for he esteemed controversy "the wind by which truth is winnowed."

But what relation could subsist between such philosophy and the selfish arrogance of King James? The tolerant views of Bacon were disregarded in his own time; like L'Hopital and Grotius, he scattered the seeds of truth, which were not to ripen till a late generation. The English hierarchy had feared, in the new monarch, the approach of a "Scottish mist;" but apprehension was soon dispelled.[2] The borders of Scotland were hardly passed before James began to identify the interests of the English church with those of his prerogative. "No bishop, no king" was a maxim often in his mouth. Whitgift was aware that the Puritans were too numerous to be borne down; "I have not been greatly quiet in mind," said the disappointed archbishop, "the vipers are so many." But James was not as yet fully conscious of their strength. While he was in his progress to London, more than seven hundred of them presented the "millenary pe-

1 Bacon, Of Church Controversies. Of the Pacification of the Church, first published in 1604. Apothegms. Works, ii. 516. 54 517. 462.

2 Neal's Puritans, ii. 30.

CHAP. VIII. tition" for a redress of ecclesiastical grievances.[1] He was never disposed to favor the Puritans; but a decent respect for the party to which he had belonged, joined to a desire of displaying his talents for theological debate, induced him to appoint a conference at Hampton Court.

1604. Jan. 14. 16. 18. The conference was distinguished on the part of the king by a strenuous vindication of the church of England. Refusing to discuss the question of the power of the church in things indifferent, he substituted authority for argument, and where he could not produce conviction, demanded obedience. "I will have none of that liberty as to ceremonies; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony. Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey."[2]

The Puritans desired permission occasionally to assemble, and at their meetings to have the liberty of free discussions; but the king, prompt to discover that concessions in religion would be followed by greater political liberty, interrupted the petition:— "You are aiming at a Scot's presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my council and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus; and therefore, here I must once more reiterate my former speech, and say,

[1] Hume's England, c. xlv. Neal's Puritans, ii. 31, 32.

[2] Barlow's Sum and Substance of the Conf. at Hampton Court, 71. I chiefly follow this account, which I find in the New England Library of Prince, though more favorable to the king and bishops than they deserved. Hallam, i. 404. See Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 180, 181, 182, for an account more disgraceful to James. Yet Harrington was a friend to the church.

Le roi s' avisera; the King reserves his assent."[1] Turning to the bishops, he avowed his belief, that the hierarchy was the firmest support of the throne. Of the Puritans he added—"I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse,"[2] "only hang them; that's all." This closed the day's debate.

Jan. 18. On the last day of the conference, the king defended the necessity of subscription, concluding that, "if any would not be quiet and show their obedience, they were worthy to be hanged." The high commission and the use of inquisitorial oaths equally found in him an advocate. He argued for despotic authority and its instruments.[3] A few alterations in the book of common prayer were the only reforms which the conference effected. It was agreed that a time should be set, within which all should conform; if any refused to yield before it expired, they were to be removed.[4] The king had insulted the Puritans with vulgar rudeness and indecorous jests;[5] but his self-complacency was satisfied. He had talked much Latin;[6] he had spoken a part of the time in the presence of the nobility of Scotland and England, willing admirers of his skill in debate and of his marvellous learning; and he was elated by the eulogies of the churchmen, who paid full tribute to the vanity of their royal champion. "Your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit," said the aged Whitgift. Bishop Bancroft, on his knees, exclaimed, that his heart melted for joy, "because God had given England such a king as, since Christ's time, has not been;"[7] and, in a fool-

1 Barlow, 79. Neal's Puritans, ii. 43, 44. Lingard, ix. 30. Hume, c. xlv.

2 Barlow, 83.

3 Ibid. 90—92.

4 Ibid. 101.

5 Neal's Puritans, ii. 45.

6 Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 181. Montague, in Winwood, iii. 13—16.

7 Barlow, 93, 94. Lingard, 32. Neal's Puritans, ii. 45.

CHAP. VIII. ish letter, James boasted that "he had soundly peppered off the Puritans."[1]

Whitgift, the archbishop, a man of great consistency of character, estimable for his learning, respected and beloved by his party, did not long survive the conference. He earnestly desired not to live till the next parliament should assemble, for the Puritans would have the majority; and grief,[2] it is thought, hastened
1604. Feb. 29. his death, six weeks after the close of the conference, and only eleven months after the death of Elizabeth.

In the parliament, which soon assembled, the party opposed to the church asserted their liberties with such tenacity and vigor, that King James began to hate them as imbittering royalty itself. "I had rather live like a hermit in the forest," he writes, "than be a king over such a people as the pack of Puritans are, that overrules the lower house."[3] At the opening of the session, he had in vain pursued the policy of attempting a union between the old religion and the English church, and had offered "to meet the Catholics in the mid-way," while he had added, that "the sect of Puritans is insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth."[4] It was equally in vain, that, at the
1605. Nov. 9. next session of parliament, he expressed himself with more vindictive decision; declaring the Roman Catholics to be faithful subjects, but expressing detestation of the Puritans, as worthy of fire for their opinions.[5] The commons of England resolutely favored the sect which was their natural ally in the struggle against despotism.

Far different was the spirit which actuated the

1 Strype's Whitgift, App. 239.
2 Fuller's Chh. Hist. b. x. 25.
3 Hallam, i. 408—420, especially the letter at 419. Note.
4 Neal's Puritans, ii. 51, 52. Rapin, ii. 165, 166.
5 Prince, 111. Neal, ii. 52.

convocation of the clergy. They were very ready to decree against obstinate Puritans excommunication and all its consequences.[1] Bancroft, the successor of Whitgift, required [2] conformity with unrelenting rigor; King James issued a proclamation [3] of equal severity; and it is asserted,[4] perhaps with considerable exaggeration, yet by those who had opportunities of judging rightly, that, in the year 1604 alone, three hundred Puritan ministers were silenced, imprisoned, or exiled. But the oppressed party was neither intimidated nor weakened; the moderate men, who assented to external ceremonies as to things indifferent, were unwilling to enforce them by merciless cruelty; and they resisted not the square cap and the surplice, but the compulsory imposition of them. Yet the clergy proceeded with a consistent disregard of the national liberties. The importation of foreign books was impeded; and a severe censorship of the press was exercised by the bishops. Frivolous acts were denounced as ecclesiastical offences. A later convocation, in a series of canons,[5] denied every doctrine of popular rights, asserting the superiority of the king to the parliament and the laws, and admitting, in their zeal for absolute monarchy, no exception to the duty of passive obedience. Thus the opponents of the church became the sole guardians of popular liberty; the lines of the contending parties were distinctly drawn: the established church and the monarch, on the one side, were arrayed against the Puritan clergy and the people. A war of opinion began; immediate success was obtained by the established authority; but the contest would be

CHAP VIII. 1604 Dec. 18. 1605 1606

1 Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical; Neal, ii. 57—60. Prince, 107, 108.

2 Bancroft, in Neal, ii. 67.

3 Prince, 109. See the Canons.

4 Calderwood, in Neal's N. E. i. 73. Compare a note in Neal's Puritans, ii. 64.

5 Bishop Overall's Convocation Book (not printed till 1690).

CHAP. VIII. transmitted to the next generation. Would victory ultimately belong to the Churchmen or to the Puritans? to the monarch or to the people? The interests of human freedom were at issue on the contest.

Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, "a poor people" in the north of England, in towns and villages of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and the borders of Yorkshire, "became enlightened by the word of God;" and, as "presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and their ministers urged with the yoke of subscription," they, by the increase of troubles, were led "to see further," that not only "the beggarly ceremonies were monuments of idolatry," but also "that the lordly power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to." Many of them, therefore, "whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth," resolved, "whatever it might cost them, to shake off the anti-Christian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, to join themselves by a covenant into a church estate in the fellowship of the gospel." Of the same faith with Calvin, heedless of acts of parliament, they rejected "the offices and callings, the courts and canons," of bishops, and, renouncing all obedience to human authority, asserted for themselves an unlimited and never-ending right to make advances in truth, and "to walk in all the ways which God had made known or should make known to them."

The reformed church, having for its pastor John Robinson, "a man not easily to be paralleled," were "beset and watched night and day by the agents of prelacy. For about a year, they kept their meetings every Sabbath, in one place or another, exercising the worship of God among themselves, notwithstanding all

the diligence and malice of their adversaries." But, CHAP VIII. as the humane ever decline to enforce the laws dictated by bigotry, the office devolves on the fanatic or 1607 the savage. Hence the severity of their execution usually surpasses the intention of their authors; and the peaceful members of "the poor, persecuted flock of Christ," despairing of rest in England, resolved to seek safety in exile.

Holland, in its controversy with Spain, had displayed republican virtues, and, in the reformation of its churches, had imitated the discipline of Calvin. England had been its ally in its greatest dangers; the States, at one time, had almost become a part of the English dominions; the "cautionary" towns were still garrisoned by English regiments, some of which were friendly to the separatists; and William Brewster, afterwards ruling elder of the church, had himself served as a diplomatist in the Low Countries. Thus the emigrants were attracted to Holland, "where they heard was freedom of religion for all men."

The departure from England was effected with much suffering and hazard. The first attempt was 1607
prevented; but the magistrates checked the ferocity of the subordinate officers; and, after a month's arrest of the whole company, seven only of the principal men were detained a little longer in prison.

The next spring, the design was renewed. As if it 1608
had been a crime to escape from persecution, an unfrequented heath in Lincolnshire, near the mouth of the Humber, was the place of secret meeting. Just as a boat was bearing a part of the emigrants to their ship, a company of horsemen appeared in pursuit, and seized on the helpless women and children who had not yet adventured on the surf. "Pitiful it was to see the

CHAP VIII. heavy case of these poor women in distress; what weeping and crying on every side." But when they were apprehended, it seemed impossible to punish and imprison wives and children for no other crime than that they would go with their husbands and fathers. They could not be sent home, for "they had no homes to go to;" so that, at last, the magistrates were "glad to be rid of them on any terms," "though, in the mean time, they, poor souls, endured misery enough." Such was the flight of Robinson and Brewster, and their followers, from the land of their fathers.

1608. Their arrival in Amsterdam was but the beginning of their wanderings. "They knew they were
Bradford. PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest
1609. country, and quieted their spirits." Soon removing to Leyden, "they saw poverty coming on them like an armed man;" but, being "careful to keep their word, and painful and diligent in their callings," they attained "a comfortable condition, grew in the gifts and grace of the Spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness." "Never," said the magistrates of the city, "never did we have any suit or accusation against any of them;" and, but for fear of offending King James, they would have met with public favor. "Many came there from different parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation." "Such was the humble zeal and fervent love of this people towards God and his ways, and their single-heartedness and sincere affection one towards another," that they seemed to come surpassingly near "the primitive pattern of the first churches." A clear and well-written apology of their discipline was published by Robinson, who also, in the controversy on

free-will, as the champion of orthodoxy, "began to be terrible to the Arminians," and disputed in the university with such power, that, as his friends assert, "the truth had a famous victory." CHAP VIII.

The career of maritime discovery had, meantime, been pursued with daring intrepidity, and rewarded with brilliant success. The voyages of Gosnold, and Smith, and Hudson; the enterprise of Raleigh, and Delaware, and Gorges; the compilations of Eden, and Willes, and Hakluyt,—had filled the commercial world with wonder; Calvinists of the French Church had already sought, though vainly, to plant themselves in Brazil, in Carolina, and, with De Monts, in Acadia; while weighty reasons, often and seriously discussed, inclined the Pilgrims to change their abode. They had been bred to the pursuits of husbandry, and in Holland they were compelled to learn mechanical trades; Brewster became a printer; Bradford, who had been educated as a farmer, learned the art of dyeing silk. The language of the Dutch never became pleasantly familiar, and their manners still less so. They lived but as men in exile. Many of their English friends would not come to them, or departed from them weeping. "Their continual labors, with other crosses and sorrows, left them in danger to scatter or sink." "Their children, sharing their parents' burdens, bowed under the weight, and were becoming decrepit in early youth." Conscious of ability to act a higher part in the great drama of humanity, they were moved by "a hope and inward zeal of advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in the remote parts of the New World; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing so great a work." 1617

"Upon their talk of removing, sundry of the Dutch

CHAP. VIII. would have them go under them, and made them large offers;" but the Pilgrims were attached to their nationality as Englishmen, and to the language of their line. A secret but deeply-seated love of their country led them to the generous purpose of recovering the protection of England by enlarging her dominions They were "restless" with the desire to live once more under the government of their native land.

And whither should they go to acquire a province for King James? The beautiful fertility and immeasurable wealth of Guiana had been painted in dazzling colors by the brilliant eloquence of Raleigh; but the terrors of the tropical climate, the wavering pretensions of England to the soil, and the proximity of bigoted Catholics, led them rather to look towards "the most northern parts of Virginia," hoping, under the general government of that province, "to live in a distinct body by themselves." To obtain the consent
617. of the London company, John Carver, with Robert Cushman, repaired to England. They "found God going along with them;" and, through the influence of "Sir Edwin Sandys, a religious gentleman then living," a patent might at once have been taken, had not the envoys desired first to consult "the multitude"
Dec. 15. at Leyden. In December, 1617, the Pilgrims transmitted their request, signed by the hands of the greatest part of the congregation. "We are well weaned," added Robinson and Brewster, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good,

and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage." CHAP VIII.

The messengers of the Pilgrims, confiding in the 1618
Virginia company, petitioned the king for liberty of religion, to be confirmed under the king's broad seal. "Who shall make your ministers?" it was asked of them; and they answered, "The power of making them is in the church;" ordination required no bishop; and their avowal of their principle threatened to spoil all. To advance the dominions of England King James esteemed "a good and honest motion; and fishing was an honest trade, the apostles' own calling;" yet he referred the suit to the prelates of Canterbury and London. Even while the negotiations were pending, a royal declaration constrained the Puritans of Lancashire to conform or leave the kingdom; and nothing more could be obtained for the wilds of America than an informal promise of neglect. On this the community relied, being advised not to entangle themselves with the bishops. "If there should afterwards be a purpose to wrong us,"—thus they communed with themselves,—"though we had a seal as broad as the house-floor, there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it."

The dissensions in the Virginia company occasioned 1619
further delay. At last, in 1619, its members, in their open court, writes one of the Pilgrims, "demanded our ends of going; which being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large patent." Being taken in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition, the patent was never of the least service.

One more negotiation remained to be completed. The Pilgrims were not possessed of sufficient capital for the execution of their schemes. The confidence in wealth to be derived from fisheries had made Amer-

CHAP. VIII. ican expeditions a subject of consideration with English merchants; and the agents from Leyden were able to form a partnership between their employers and men of business in London. The services of each emigrant were rated as a capital of ten pounds, and belonged to the company; all profits were to be reserved till the end of seven years, when the whole amount, and all houses and land, gardens and fields, were to be divided among the shareholders according to their respective interests. The London merchant, who risked one hundred pounds, would receive for his money tenfold more than the penniless laborer for his entire services. This arrangement threatened a seven years' check to the pecuniary prosperity of the community; yet, as it did not interfere with civil rights or religion, it did not intimidate the resolved.

1620. And now the English at Leyden, trusting in God and in themselves, made ready for their departure. The ships which they had provided—the Speedwell, of sixty tons, the Mayflower, of one hundred and eighty tons—could hold but a minority of the congregation; and Robinson was therefore detained at Leyden, while Brewster, the governing elder, who was also able as a teacher, conducted "such of the youngest and strongest as freely offered themselves." Every enterprise of the Pilgrims began from God. A solemn fast was July. held. "Let us seek of God," said they, "a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance." Anticipating their high destiny, and the sublime doctrines of liberty that would grow out of the principles on which their religious tenets were established, Robinson gave them a farewell, breathing a freedom of opinion and an independence of authority, such as then were hardly known in the world.

"I charge you, before God and his blessed angels,

that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation.—Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God.—I beseech you, remember it,—'tis an article of your church covenant,—that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God." CHAP VIII.

"When the ship was ready to carry us away," writes Edward Winslow, "the brethren that staid at Leyden, having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house being large; where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this, they accompanied us to Delft-Haven, where we went to embark, and then feasted us again; and, after prayer performed by our pastor, when a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only, going aboard, gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed." A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to Southampton, and, in a fortnight, 1620
the Mayflower and the Speedwell, freighted with the Aug.
first colony of New England, leave Southampton for 5.
America. But they had not gone far upon the Atlan-

CHAP. VIII. 1620 tic before the smaller vessel was found to need repairs; and they entered the port of Dartmouth. After the lapse of eight precious days, they again weigh anchor; the coast of England recedes; already they are unfurling their sails on the broad ocean, when the captain of the Speedwell, with his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, once more pretends that his ship is too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth, "and agree to dismiss her, and those who are willing, return to London, though this was very grievous and discouraging." Having thus winnowed their numbers, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some far gone in pregnancy, children, infants, a floating village, yet but one hundred and two souls, went on board the single ship, which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic; and, on the
Sept. 6. sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the Mayflower set sail for a new world, where the past could offer no favorable auguries.

Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion, men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code, but that of religion or the public will.

The eastern coast of the United States abounds in beautiful and convenient harbors, in majestic bays and rivers. The first Virginia colony, sailing along the shores of North Carolina, was, by a favoring storm, driven into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake; the Pilgrims, having selected for their settlement the country near the Hudson, the best position on the whole coast, were conducted to the most barren and inhospitable part of Massachusetts. After a long and boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, during which one person had died, they espied land, and, in two days more, were safely moored in the harbor of Cape Cod.

CHAP. VIII

1620

Nov. 9.

Yet, before they landed, the manner in which their government should be constituted, was considered; and, as some were observed "not well affected to unity and concord," they formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn voluntary compact:—

"In the name of God, amen; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honor of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together, into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

Nov 11

CHAP. VIII. 1620 This instrument was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred, the whole colony, "the proper democracy," that arrived in New England. This was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. The middle age had been familiar with charters and constitutions; but they had been merely compacts for immunities, partial enfranchisements, patents of nobility, concessions of municipal privileges, or limitations of the sovereign power in favor of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the Mayflower, humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of "equal laws" for "the general good." John Carver was immediately and unanimously chosen governor for the year.

Men who emigrate, even in well-inhabited districts, pray that their journey may not be in winter. Wasted by the rough and wearisome voyage, ill supplied with provisions, the English fugitives found themselves, at the opening of winter, on a barren and bleak coast, in a severe climate, with the ocean on one side and the wilderness on the other. There were none to show them kindness or bid them welcome. The nearest French settlement was at Port Royal; it was five hundred miles to the English plantation at Virginia. As they attempted to disembark, the water was found so shallow, that they were forced to wade; and, in the freezing weather, the very act of getting on land sowed the seeds of consumption and inflammatory colds. The bitterness of mortal disease was their welcome to the inhospitable shore.

Nov. 13. The season was already fast bringing winter, and the spot for the settlement remained to be chosen

The shallop was unshipped; and it was a real disaster to find that it needed repairs. The carpenter made slow work, so that sixteen or seventeen weary days elapsed, before it was ready for service. But Standish and Bradford, and others, impatient of the delay, determined to explore the country by land. "In regard to the danger," the expedition "was rather permitted than approved." Much hardship was endured; but what discoveries could be made in Truro and near the banks of Paomet Creek? The first expedition in the shallop was likewise unsuccessful; "some of the people, that died that winter, took the original of their death" in the enterprise; "for it snowed and did blow all the day and night, and froze withal." The men who were set on shore, "were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep vallies, which lay half a foot thick with snow." A heap of maize was discovered; and further search led to a burial-place of the Indians; but they found "no more corn, nor any thing else but graves."

CHAP. VIII. 1620

At length, the shallop was again sent out, with Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and others, with eight or ten seamen. The cold was severe; the spray of the sea froze as it fell on them, and made their clothes like coats of iron. That day they reached Billingsgate Point, at the bottom of the Bay of Cape Cod, on the western shore of Wellfleet harbor. The next morning, the company divided; those on shore find a burial-place, graves, and four or five deserted wigwams, but neither people, nor any place inviting a settlement. Before night, the whole party met by the sea-side, and encamped on land together near Namskeket, or Great Meadow Creek.

Dec. 6.

Dec. 7.

CHAP. VIII. 1620. Dec. 8. The next day they rose at five; their morning prayers were finished, when, as the day dawned, a war-whoop and a flight of arrows announced an attack from Indians. They were of the tribe of the Nausites, who knew the English as kidnappers; but the encounter was without further result. Again the boat's crew give thanks to God, and steer their bark along the coast for the distance of fifteen leagues. But no convenient harbor is discovered. The pilot of the boat, who had been in these regions before, gives assurance of a good one, which may be reached before night; and they follow his guidance. After some hours' sailing, a storm of snow and rain begins; the sea swells; the rudder breaks; the boat must now be steered with oars; the storm increases; night is at hand; to reach the harbor before dark, as much sail as possible is borne; the mast breaks into three pieces; the sail falls overboard; but the tide is favorable. The pilot, in dismay, would have run the boat on shore in a cove full of breakers. "About with her," exclaimed a sailor, "or we are cast away." They get her about immediately, and, passing over the surf, they enter a fair sound, and shelter themselves under the lee of a small rise of land. It is dark, and the rain beats furiously; yet the men are so wet, and cold, and weak, they slight the danger to be apprehended from the savages, and, after great difficulty, kindle a fire on shore.

Dec. 9. Morning, as it dawned, showed the place to be a small island within the entrance of a harbor. The
10 day was required for rest and preparations. Time was precious; the season advancing; their companions were left in suspense. The next day was the "Christian Sabbath." Nothing marks the character

of the Pilgrims more fully, than that they kept it sacredly, though every consideration demanded haste. CHAP. VIII.

On Monday, the eleventh day of December, old style, the exploring party of the forefathers land at Plymouth. A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves, as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions. Inquisitive historians have loved to mark every vestige of the Pilgrims; poets of the purest minds have commemorated their virtues; the noblest genius has been called into exercise to display their merits worthily, and to trace the consequences of their daring enterprise. 1620 Dec. 11.

The spot, when examined, seemed to invite a settlement; and, in a few days, the Mayflower was safely moored in its harbor. In memory of the hospitalities which the company had received at the last English port from which they had sailed, this oldest New England colony obtained the name of Plymouth. The system of civil government had been established by common agreement; the character of the church had for many years been fixed by a sacred covenant. As the Pilgrims landed, their institutions were already perfected. Democratic liberty and independent Christian worship at once existed in America. Dec 15

After some days, they began to build—a difficult task for men of whom one half were wasting away with consumptions and lung-fevers. For the sake of haste, it was agreed, that every man should build his own house; but frost and foul weather were great hindrances: they could seldom work half of the week; and tenements were erected as they could be, in the 1621 Jan 9

CHAP. VIII. short intervals of sunshine between showers of sleet and snow-storms.

1621. Mar. 3. On the third of March, a south wind brought warm and fair weather. "The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." But it was not till spring had far advanced, that the mortality began to cease. It was afterwards remarked, with modest gratitude, that, of the survivors, very many lived to an extreme old age. A shelter, not less than comfort, had been wanting· the living had been scarce able to bury the dead; the well not sufficient to take care of the sick. At the season of greatest distress, there were but seven able to render assistance. The benevolent Carver had been appointed governor: at his first landing, he had
Mar. 23. lost a son: soon after the departure of the Mayflower for England, his health sunk under a sudden attack; and his wife, broken-hearted, followed him in death. William Bradford, the historian of the colony, was soon chosen his successor. The record of misery was kept by the graves of the governor and half the company.

But if sickness ceased to prevail, the hardships of privation and want remained to be encountered. In
1621-2 the autumn, an arrival of new emigrants, who came unprovided with food, compelled the whole colony, for six months in succession, to subsist on half allowance only. "I have seen men," says Winslow, "stagger by reason of faintness for want of food." They were once saved from famishing by the benevolence of fishermen off the coast. Sometimes they suffered from
1622. oppressive exactions on the part of ships, that sold them provisions at the most exorbitant prices. Nor did their miseries soon terminate. Even in the third
1623. year of the settlement, their victuals were so entirely spent, that "they knew not at night where to have a

oit in the morning." Tradition declares, that, at one CHAP. VIII.
time, the colonists were reduced to a pint of corn,
which, being parched and distributed, gave to each 1623
individual only five kernels; but rumor falls short of
reality; for three or four months together, they had no July.
corn whatever. When a few of their old friends arrived to join them, a lobster, or a piece of fish, without bread or any thing else but a cup of fair spring water, was the best dish which the hospitality of the whole
colony could offer. Neat cattle were not introduced 1624 Mar.
till the fourth year of the settlement. Yet, during all this season of self-denial and suffering, the cheerful confidence of the Pilgrims in the mercies of Providence remained unshaken.

The system of common property had occasioned grievous discontents; the influence of law could not compel regular labor like the uniform impulse of personal interest; and even the threat of "keeping back their bread" could not change the character of the
idle. After the harvest of 1623, there was no general 1623
want of food; in the spring of that year, it had been agreed, that each family should plant for itself; and parcels of land, in proportion to the respective numbers, were assigned for culture, though not for inheritance. This arrangement produced contented labor and universal industry; "even women and children now went into the field to work." The next spring, every person obtained a little land in perpetual fee. The necessity of the case, and the common interest, demanded a slight departure from the severe agreement with the English merchants. Before many harvests, so much corn was raised, that it began to form a profitable article of commerce, and the Indians, preferring the chase to tillage, abandoned culture, and

CHAP. VIII. looked to the colonists for their supply. The intercourse between the Plymouth colony and the Indians soon assumed the character of commercial familiarity. The exchange of European manufactures for beaver and other skins, was almost the only pursuit which promised to be lucrative.

The spot to which Providence had directed the planters, had, a few years before, been rendered entirely a desert by a pestilence, which had likewise swept over the neighboring tribes, and desolated almost the whole sea-board of New England.
1620. Where the Pilgrims landed, there were the traces of a previous population, but not one living inhabitant.
1621. Smokes from fires in the remote distance alone indicated the vicinity of natives. Miles Standish, "the best linguist" among the Pilgrims, as well as the best soldier, with an exploring party, was able to discover
Feb. 16. wigwams, but no tenants. Yet a body of Indians from abroad was soon discovered, hovering near the settlement, though disappearing when pursued. The
17. colony, therefore, assumed a military organization; and Standish, a man of the greatest courage, the devoted friend of the church, which he never joined, was appointed to the chief command. But dangers were not at hand.

Mar. 16. One day, Samoset, an Indian who had learned a little English of the fishermen at Penobscot, boldly entered the town, and, passing to the rendezvous, exclaimed, in English, "Welcome, Englishmen." He belonged to the Wampanoags, a tribe which was destined to become memorable in the history of New England. In the name of his nation, he bade the strangers possess the soil, which there was no one of the original occupants alive to claim. After some

little negotiation, in which an Indian, who had been carried away by Hunt, had learned English in England, and had, in an earlier expedition, returned to his native land, acted as an interpreter, Massasoit himself, the sachem of the tribe possessing the country north of Narragansett Bay, and between the rivers of Providence and Taunton, came to visit the Pilgrims, who, with their wives and children, now amounted to no more than fifty. The chieftain of a race as yet so new to the Pilgrims, was received with all the ceremonies which the condition of the colony permitted. A treaty of friendship was soon completed in few and unequivocal terms. The parties promised to abstain from mutual injuries, and to deliver up offenders; the colonists were to receive assistance, if attacked; to render it, if Massasoit should be attacked unjustly. The treaty included the confederates of the sachem; it is the oldest act of diplomacy recorded in New England; it was concluded in a day, and, being founded on reciprocal interests, was sacredly kept for more than half a century. Massasoit desired the alliance, for the powerful Narragansetts were his enemies; his tribe, moreover, having become habituated to some English luxuries, were willing to establish a traffic; while the emigrants obtained peace, security, and the opportunity of a lucrative commerce.

CHAP VIII. 1621

Mar 22.

An embassy from the little colony to their new ally, performed, not with the pomp of modern missions, but through the forests and on foot, and received, not to the luxuries of courts, but to a share in the abstinence of savage life, confirmed the treaty of amity, and prepared the way for a trade in furs. The marks of devastation from a former plague were visible

July

CHAP. VIII. wherever the envoys went, and they witnessed the extreme poverty and feebleness of the natives.

1621. Aug. The influence of the English over the aborigines was rapidly extended. A sachem, who menaced their safety, was himself compelled to sue for mercy; and Sept. 18. nine chieftains subscribed an instrument of submission to King James. The Bay of Massachusetts and harbor of Boston were fearlessly explored. Canonicus, the wavering sachem of the Narragansetts, whose territory had escaped the ravages of the pestilence, had 1622. at first desired to treat of peace. A bundle of arrows, wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, was now the token of his hostility. But when Bradford stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and returned it, his courage quailed, and he desired to be in amity with a race of men whose weapons of war were so terrible. The hostile expedition which caused the first Indian blood to be shed, grew out of a quarrel, in which the inhabitants of Plymouth were involved by another colony.

1623. Mar. For who will define the limits to the graspings of avarice? The opportunity of gain by the fur-trade had been envied the planters of New Plymouth; and Weston, who had been active among the London adventurers in establishing the Plymouth colony, now desired to engross the profits which he already deemed secure. A patent for land near Weymouth, the first 1622 plantation in Boston harbor, was easily obtained; and a company of sixty men were sent over. Helpless at their arrival, they intruded themselves, for most of the summer, upon the unrequited hospitality of the people of Plymouth. In their plantation, they were soon reduced to necessity by their want of thrift, their injustice towards the Indians provoked hostility;

CHAP VIII. 1623

and a plot was formed for the entire destruction of the English. But the grateful Massassoit revealed the design to his allies; and the planters at Weymouth were saved by the wisdom of the older colony and the intrepid gallantry of Standish. It was "his capital exploit." Some of the rescued men went to Plymouth; some sailed for England. One short year saw the beginning and end of the Weymouth plantation. "Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public," observes the childless Lord Bacon, with complacent self-love, "have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men." Weston's company, after having boasted of their strength, as far superior to Plymouth, which was enfeebled, they said, by the presence of children and women, owed their deliverance to the colony that had many women, children, and weak ones with them.

The danger from Indian hostilities was early removed; the partnership with English merchants occasioned greater inconvenience. Robinson and the rest of his church, at Leyden, were suffering from deferred hopes, and were longing to rejoin their brethren in America. The adventurers in England refused to provide them a passage, and attempted, with but short success, to force upon the colonists a clergyman more 1624 to 1626
friendly to the established church; thus outraging at once the affections and the religious scruples of those whom they had pledged themselves to cherish. Divisions ensued; and the partners in England, offended by opposition, and discouraged at the small returns from their investments, deserted the interests of their associates in America. A ship was even despatched to rival them in their business; goods, which were sent for their supply, were sold to them

CHAP. VIII. at an advance of seventy per cent. The curse of usury, which always falls so heavily upon new settlements, did not spare them; for, being left without help from the partners, they were obliged to borrow money at fifty per cent. and at thirty per cent. interest. At last, the emigrants themselves succeeded in purchasing the entire rights of the English adventurers; the common property was equitably divided, and agriculture established immediately and completely on the basis of private possessions. For a six years' monopoly of the trade, eight of the most enterprising men assumed all the engagements of the colony; so that the cultivators of the soil became really freeholders; neither debts nor rent day troubled them.

The colonists of Plymouth had exercised self-government without the sanction of a royal patent. Yet their claim to their lands was valid, according to the principles of English law, as well as natural justice. They had received a welcome from the abo-
1621. rigines; and the council of Plymouth, through the mediation of Sir Ferdinand Gorges,[1] immediately issued a patent to John Pierce for their benefit. But the trustee, growing desirous of becoming lord pro-
1623. prietary, and holding them as tenants, obtained a new charter, which would have caused much difficulty, had not his misfortunes compelled him to transfer his rights to the company. When commerce extended to the Kennebec, a patent for the adjacent territory was
16 easily procured. The same year, Allerton was again sent to London to negotiate an enlargement of both the grants; and he gained from the council of Plymouth concessions equal to all his desires. But it

[1] Gorges' Description, 24. Briefe Narration, c. xxii.

was ever impossible to obtain a charter from the king; so that, according to the principles adopted in England, the planters, with an unquestionable property in the soil, had no right to assume a separate jurisdiction. It was therefore in the virtues of the colonists themselves, that their institutions found a guaranty for stability. They never hesitated to punish small offences; it was only after some scruples, that they inflicted capital punishment. Their doubts being once removed, they exercised the same authority as the charter governments. Death was, by subsequent laws, made the penalty for several crimes; but was never inflicted except for murder. House-breaking and highway robbery were offences unknown in their courts, and too little apprehended to be made subjects of severe legislation.

CHAP VIII. 1630

The progress of population was very slow. The lands in the vicinity were not fertile; and at the end of ten years the colony contained no more than three hundred souls. Few as were their numbers, they had struck deep root, and would have outlived every storm, even if they had been followed by no other colonies in New England. Hardly were they planted in America, when their enterprise began to take a wide range; before Massachusetts was settled, they had acquired rights at Cape Ann, as well as an extensive domain on the Kennebec; and they were the first to possess an English settlement on the banks of the Connecticut. The excellent Robinson died at Leyden, before the faction in England would permit his removal to Plymouth; his heart was in America, where his memory will never die. The remainder of his people, and with them his wife and children, emigrated, so soon as means could be provided to defray

1625 Mar. 1.

CHAP. VIII. the costs. "To enjoy religious liberty was the known end of the first comers' great adventure into this remote wilderness;" and they desired no increase, but from the friends of their communion. Yet their residence in Holland had made them acquainted with various forms of Christianity; a wide experience had emancipated them from bigotry; and they were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution, though they sometimes permitted a disproportion between punishment and crime.

The frame of civil government in the Old Colony was of the utmost simplicity. A governor was chosen by general suffrage; whose power, always subordinate to the general will, was, at the desire of Bradford,
1624. specially restricted by a council of five, and afterwards
1633. of seven, assistants. In the council, the governor had but a double vote. For more than eighteen years, "the whole body of the male inhabitants" constituted the legislature; the state was governed, like our towns, as a strict democracy; and the people were frequently convened to decide on executive not less
1639. than on judicial questions. At length, the increase of population, and its diffusion over a wider territory, led to the introduction of the representative system, and each town sent its committee to the general court. We shall subsequently find the colony a distinct member of the earliest American Confederacy; but it is chiefly as guides and pioneers that the fathers of the Old Colony merit gratitude.

Through scenes of gloom and misery, the Pilgrims showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the purity of religion or the liberty of conscience. Accustomed "in their native land to no more than a plain country life and the in-

ocent trade of husbandry," they set the example of colonizing New England, and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions. Enduring every hardship themselves, they were the servants of posterity, the benefactors of succeeding generations. In the history of the world, many pages are devoted to commemorate the men who have besieged cities, subdued provinces, or overthrown empires. In the eye of reason and of truth, a colony is a better offering than a victory; the citizens of the United States should rather cherish the memory of those who founded a state on the basis of democratic liberty; the fathers of the country; the men who, as they first trod the soil of the New World, scattered the seminal principles of republican freedom and national independence. They enjoyed, in anticipation, the thought of their extending influence, and the fame which their grateful successors would award to their virtues. "Out of small beginnings," said Bradford, "great things have been produced; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some sort to our whole nation."—"Let it not be grievous to you,"—such was the consolation offered from England to the Pilgrims in the season of their greatest sufferings,—"let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honor shall be yours to the world's end."

CHAP VIII.

1639

CHAPTER IX.

THE EXTENDED COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND

CHAP. IX. 1620. The council of Plymouth for New England, having obtained of King James the boundless territory and the immense monopoly which they had desired, had no further obstacles to encounter but the laws of nature and the remonstrances of parliament. No tributaries tenanted their countless millions of uncultivated acres; and exactions upon the vessels of English fishermen were the only means of acquiring an immediate revenue from America. But the spirit of the commons indignantly opposed the extravagant pretensions of the favored company, and demanded for every subject of the English king the free liberty of engaging in a pursuit which was the chief source
1621. April 25. of wealth to the merchants of the west. "Shall the English," said Sir Edwin Sandys, the statesman so well entitled to the enduring gratitude of Virginia, "be debarred from the freedom of the fisheries, a privilege which the French and Dutch enjoy? It costs the kingdom nothing but labor; employs shipping; and furnishes the means of a lucrative commerce with Spain."—"The fishermen hinder the plantations," replied Calvert; "they choke the harbors with their ballast, and waste the forests by improvident use. America is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of parliament; you have therefore no right

to interfere."—"We may make laws for Virginia," rejoined another member, intent on opposing the flagrant benevolence of the king, and wholly uncon scious of asserting, in the earliest debate on American affairs, the claim of parliament to that absolute sovereignty which the colonies never acknowledged, and which led to the war of the revolution; "a bill passed by the commons and the lords, if it receive the king's assent, will control the patent." The charter, argued Sir Edward Coke, with ample reference to early statutes, was granted without regard to previously-existing rights, and is therefore void by the established laws of England. So the friends of the liberty of fishing triumphed over the advocates of the royal prerogative, though the parliament was dissolved before a bill could be carried through all the forms of legislation.

Yet enough had been done to infuse vigor into mercantile enterprise; in the second year after the settlement of Plymouth, five-and-thirty sail of vessels went to fish on the coasts of New England, and made good voyages. The monopolists appealed to King James; and the monarch, preferring to assert his own extended prerogative, rather than to regard the spirit of the house of commons, issued a proclamation, which forbade any to approach the northern coast of America, except with the special leave of the company of Plymouth, or of the privy council. It was monstrous thus to attempt to seal up a large portion of an immense continent; it was impossible to carry the ordinance into effect; and here, as so often, despotism caused its own fall. By desiring strictly to enforce its will, it provoked a conflict in which it was sure of being defeated.

1622 Nov

CHAP. IX. But the monopolists endeavored to establish their claims. One Francis West was despatched with a
1623. June. commission as admiral of New England, for the purpose of excluding from the American seas such fishermen as came without a license. But his feeble authority was derided; the ocean was a wide place over which to keep sentry. The mariners refused to pay the tax which he imposed; and his ineffectual authority was soon resigned. In England, the attempt occasioned the severest remonstrances, which
1624. did not fail to make an impression on the ensuing parliament.

The patentees, alike prodigal of charters and te-
1622 Dec. 13. nacious of their monopoly, having given to Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinand, a patent for a tract extending ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, and thirty
1623 miles into the interior, now appointed him lieutenant-general of New England, with power "to restrain interlopers," not less than to regulate the affairs of the corporation. His patent was never permanently used; though the colony at Weymouth was renewed, to meet once more with ill fortune. He was attended by Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, who was provided with a commission for the superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs. Instead of establishing a hierarchy, Morrell, remaining in New England about a year, wrote a description of the country in verse; while the civil dignity of Robert Gorges ended in a short-lived dispute with Weston. They came to plant a hierarchy and a general government, and they produced only a fruitless quarrel and a dull poem.

1624 But when parliament was again convened, the controversy against the charter was once more renewed, and the rights of liberty found an inflexible champion

in the aged Sir Edward Coke, who now expiated the CHAP IX.
sins of his early ambition by devotion to the interests
of the people. It was in vain that the patentees relin- 1624 Mar. 17.
quished a part of their pretensions; the commons resolved that English fishermen shall have fishing with all its incidents. "Your patent"—thus Gorges was addressed by Coke from the speaker's chair—"contains many particulars contrary to the laws and privileges of the subject; it is a monopoly, and the ends of private gain are concealed under color of planting a colony." "Shall none," observed the veteran lawyer in debate, "shall none visit the sea-coast for fishing? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and the sun." It was in vain for Sir George Calvert to resist. The bill passed without amendment, though it never received the royal assent.[1]

The determined opposition of the house, though it could not move the king to overthrow the corporation, paralyzed its enterprise; many of the patentees abandoned their interest; so that the Plymouth company now did little except issue grants of domains; and the cottages, which, within a few years, were sprinkled along the coast from Cape Cod to the Bay of Fundy, were the consequence of private adventure.

The territory between the River of Salem and the Kennebec became, in a great measure, the property of two enterprising individuals. We have seen that Martin Pring was the discoverer of New Hampshire, 1603

1 The original authorities,—Debates of the Commons, 1620-1, i. 258. 260, 261. 318, 319; Journal of Commons, in Chalmers, 100—102, and 103, 104; Sir F. Gorges' Narration, Morrell, in i. Mass Hist. Coll. i. 125—139; Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 25; Hazard, i. 151—155. Compare Prince, Morton, Hutchinson, Belknap, and Chalmers.

CHAP. IX. and that John Smith of Virginia had examined and extolled the deep waters of the Piscataqua. Sir
1614. Ferdinand Gorges, the most energetic member of the
1620. council of Plymouth, always ready to encounter risks in the cause of colonizing America, had not allowed repeated ill success to chill his confidence and decision; and now he found in John Mason, "who had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, a man of
1621. Mar. 9. action," like himself. It was not difficult for Mason, who had been elected an associate and secretary of the council, to obtain a grant of the lands between Salem River and the farthest head of the Merrimac; but he did no more with his vast estate than give it a
1622. Aug. 10. name. The passion for land increased; and Gorges and Mason next took a patent for Laconia, the whole country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac, and the Kennebec; a company of English merchants was formed; and under its auspices per-
1623. manent plantations were established on the banks of the Piscataqua.[1] Portsmouth and Dover are among the oldest towns in New England. Splendid as were the anticipations of the proprietaries, and lavish as was their enthusiasm in liberal expenditures, the immediate progress of the plantations was inconsiderable, and, even as fishing stations, they do not seem to have prospered.

1628. When the country on Massachusetts Bay was granted to a company, of which the zeal and success were soon to overshadow all the efforts of proprietaries
1629. Nov. 7. and merchants, it became expedient for Mason to procure a new patent; and he now received a fresh

[1] Gorges' Narrative, c. xxiv. Hubbard, 614—616. Prince, 215. Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, 9, 10. Williamson's Maine, i. 222, and ff. Belknap's New Hampshire, c. i —a truly valuable work, highly creditable to American literature.

title[1] to the territory between the Merrimac and CHAP IX.
Piscataqua, in terms which, in some degree, interfered
with the pretensions of his neighbors on the south.
This was the patent for New Hampshire, and was
pregnant with nothing so signally as suits at law.
The country had been devastated by the mutual wars
of the tribes, and the same wasting pestilence which
left New Plymouth a desert; no notice seems to have
been taken of the rights of the natives; nor did they
now issue any deed of their lands;[2] but the soil in the 1630
immediate vicinity of Dover, and afterwards of Ports-
mouth, was conveyed to the planters themselves, or to 1631
those at whose expense the settlement had been
made.[3] A favorable impulse was thus given to the
little colonies; and houses now began to be built on
the "Strawberry Bank" of the Piscataqua. But the
progress of the town was slow; Josselyn[4] described
the whole coast as a mere wilderness, with here and
there a few huts scattered by the sea-side; and 1638
thirty years after its settlement, Portsmouth made 1653
only the moderate boast of containing "between fifty
and sixty families."[5]

When the grand charter, which had established the 1635
council of Plymouth, was about to be revoked, Mason
extended his pretensions to the Salem River, the
southern boundary of his first territory, and obtained
of the expiring corporation a corresponding patent. April 22.
There is room to believe, that the king would, with-
out scruple, have confirmed the grant,[6] and conferred
upon him the powers of government, as absolute lord
and proprietary; but the death of Mason cut off all the Nov 26.

1 Hazard, i. 290—293.
2 Savage on Winthrop, i. 405, and ff.
3 Adams's Portsmouth, 17–19.
4 Josselyn's Voyages, 20.
5 Farmer's Belknap, 434.
6 Ibid. 431, and c. ii.

CHAP. IX. hopes which his family might have cherished of territorial aggrandizement and feudal supremacy. His widow
1638. in vain attempted to manage the colonial domains; the costs exceeded the revenue; the servants were ordered to provide for their own welfare; the property of the great landed proprietor was divided among them for the payment of arrears; and Mason's American estate was completely ruined. Neither king nor proprietary troubled the few inhabitants of New Hampshire; they were left to take care of themselves—the best dependence for states, as well as for individuals.

The enterprise of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, though sustained by stronger expressions of royal favor, and continued with indefatigable perseverance, was not followed by much greater success. We have seen a
1606. colony established, though but for a single winter, on the shores which Pring had discovered, and Weymouth had been the first to explore. After the bays of New
1615. England had been more carefully examined by the same daring adventurer who sketched the first map of the Chesapeake, the coast was regularly visited by fishermen and traders. A special account of the country was one of the fruits of Hakluyt's inquiries, and was published in the collections of Purchas. At Winter Harbor, near the mouth of Saco River, Englishmen, under Richard Vines, again encountered the
1616-7 severities of the inclement season; and not long afterwards, the mutineers of the crew of Rocraft lived from
1618-9 autumn till spring on Monhegan Island, where the
1607 colony of Popham had anchored, and the ships of John
1614. Smith had made their station during his visit to New England. The earliest settlers, intent only on their immediate objects, hardly aspired after glory; from the

few memorials which they have left, it is not, perhaps, possible to ascertain the precise time, when the rude shelters of the fishermen on the sea-coast began to be tenanted by permanent inmates, and the fishing stages of a summer to be transformed into regular establishments of trade.[1] The first settlement was probably made "on the Maine," but a few miles from Monhegan, at the mouth of the Pemaquid. The first observers could not but admire the noble rivers and secure bays, which invited commerce, and gave the promise of future opulence; but if hamlets were soon planted near the mouths of the streams; if forts were erected to protect the merchant and the mariner,—agriculture received no encouragement; and so many causes combined to check the growth of the country, that, notwithstanding its natural advantages, nearly two centuries glided away, before the scattered settlements along the sea-side rose into a succession of busy marts, sustained and enriched by the thriving villages of a fertile interior.

CHAP. IX. 1623 to 1628. 1626.

The settlement at Piscataqua could not quiet the ambition of Gorges. As a Protestant and an Englishman, he was almost a bigot, both in patriotism and in religion. Unwilling to behold the Roman Catholic church and the French monarch obtain possession of the eastern coast of North America, his first act with reference to the territory of the present state of Maine was, to invite the Scottish nation to become the

[1] For the early history of Maine, the original authorities are in Purchas, vol. iv.; the Relation of the President and Council for New England; Josselyn's Voyages; and the Narration which Gorges himself composed in his old age. Materials may be found also in Sullivan's History; and far better in the elaborate and most minute work of Williamson. I have also derived advantage from Geo. Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, and W. Willis's Portland. Williamson, i. 227, describes Saco as a permanent settlement in 1623; I incline rather to the opinion of Willis and Folsom.

CHAP. IX. guardians of its frontier. Sir William Alexander, the ambitious writer of turgid rhyming tragedies, a man of influence with King James, and already filled with the desire of engaging in colonial adventure, seconded a design, which promised to establish his personal dignity and interest; and he obtained, without diffi-
1621. culty, a patent for all the territory east of the River
Sept. 10. St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence.[1] The whole region, which had already been included in the French provinces of Acadia and New France, was designated in English geography by the name of Nova Scotia. Thus were the seeds of future wars scattered broadcast by the unreasonable pretensions of England; for James now gave away lands, which,
1603. already and with a better title on the ground of discovery, had been granted by Henry IV. of France, and which had been immediately occupied by his subjects; nor could it be supposed, that the reigning French monarch would esteem his rights to his rising colonies invalidated by a parchment under the Scottish seal, or prove himself so forgetful of honor, as to discontinue the protection of the emigrants who had planted themselves in America on the faith of the crown.[2]

Yet immediate attempts were made to effect a
1622. Scottish settlement. One ship, despatched for the purpose, did but come in sight of the shore, and then, declining the perilous glory of colonization, returned to the permanent fishing station on Newfoundland.
1623. The next spring, a second ship arrived; but the two vessels in company hardly possessed courage to sail to and fro along the coast, and make a partial survey of

[1] The patent is in Hazard, v. i. p. 134—145; in Purchas, v. iv. p. 1871. See, also, Gorges' Narration, c. xxiv; Laing's Scotland, iii 477.

[2] Chalmers, 92.

the harbors and the adjacent lands. The formation of a colony was postponed; and a brilliant eulogy of the soil, climate, and productions of Nova Scotia, was the only compensation for the delay.[1] CHAP IX.

The marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria promised between the rival claimants of the wilds of Acadia such friendly relations as would lead to a peaceful adjustment of jarring pretensions. Yet, even at that period, the claims of France were not recognized by England; and a new patent confirmed to Sir William Alexander all the prerogatives with which he had been lavishly invested,[2] with the right of creating an order of baronets. The sale of titles proved to the poet a lucrative traffic, and the project of a colony was abandoned. 1625 May. July 12.

The citizens of a republic are so accustomed to see the legislation and the destinies of their country controlled only by public opinion, as formed and expressed in masses, that they can hardly believe the extent in which the fortunes of European nations have, at least for a short season, been moulded by the caprices of individuals: how often the wounded vanity of a courtier, or an unsuccessful passion of a powerful minister, has changed the foreign relations of a kingdom! The feeble monarch of England, having twice abruptly dissolved parliament, and having vainly resorted to illegal modes of taxation, had forfeited the confidence of his people, and, while engaged in a war with Spain, was destitute of money and of credit. It was at such a moment, that the precipitate gallantry of the favorite Buckingham, eager to thwart the jealous Richelieu, to whom he was as far inferior in the qualities of a 1627

1 Purchas's Pilgrims, iv. 1872. Charlevoix, i. 274. De Laet. 62.
2 Hazard, i. 206, and ff. Biog. Brit. sub voce Alexander.

CHAP. IX. statesman, as he was superior in youth, manners, and personal beauty, hurried England into an unnecessary and disastrous conflict with France. The siege of Rochelle invited the presence of an English fleet; but the expedition was fatal to the honor and the objects of Buckingham.

Hostilities were no where successfully attempted,
1628. except in America. Port Royal fell easily into the hands of the English; the conquest was no more than the acquisition of a small trading station. It was a bolder design to attempt the reduction of Canada. Sir David Kirk and his two brothers, Louis and Thomas, were commissioned to ascend the St. Lawrence, and Quebec received a summons to surrender. The garrison, destitute alike of provisions and of military stores, had no hope but in the character of Champlain, its commander: his answer of proud defiance concealed his weakness; and the intimidated
1629. assailants withdrew. But Richelieu sent no seasonable supplies; the garrison was reduced to extreme suffering and the verge of famine; and when the squadron of Kirk reappeared before the town, the English were welcomed as deliverers. Favorable terms were demanded and promised; and Quebec capitulated. Thus did England, one hundred and thirty years before the enterprise of Wolfe, make the conquest of the capital of New France; that is to say, she gained possession of a barren rock and a few wretched hovels, tenanted by a hundred miserable men, who were now but beggars for bread of their vanquishers. Yet the event might fairly be deemed of importance, as pregnant with consequences; and the English admiral could not but admire the position of the fortress. Not a port in North America remained

to the French; from Long Island to the Pole, England was without a rival.[1] CHAP IX.

But before the conquest of Canada was achieved, 1629 May.
peace had been proclaimed between the contending states; and an article in the treaty promised the restitution of all acquisitions, made subsequent to April 14, 1629.[2] The possession of New France would have been too dearly purchased by the vileness of falsehood; and it was readily agreed to restore Quebec.[3] Perhaps an indifference to the issue prevailed in France; but the pride of honor and of religion seconded the claims to territory; and the genius
of Richelieu succeeded in obtaining the restitution, 1632 Mar. 29.
not of Canada only, but of Cape Breton and the undefined Acadia.[4] The event has been frequently deplored; but misery ensued, because neither the boundaries of the rival nations were distinctly marked, nor the spirit of the compact honestly respected.

While the eastern provinces of America were thus recovered by the firmness and ability of the French minister, very different causes delayed the colonization of Maine. Hardly had the little settlement, which
claimed the distinction of being the oldest plantation 1628
on that coast, gained a permanent existence, before a succession of patents distributed the whole territory from the Piscataqua to the Penobscot among various
proprietors. The grants were couched in vague 1629 to 1631
language, and were made in hasty succession, without deliberation on the part of the council of Plymouth, and without any firm purpose of establishing colonies

1 Mémoires, in Hazard, i. 285—287. Charlevoix, i. 165, and ff. Compare, also, Haliburton's N. Scotia, i. 43. 46, &c.

2 Rushworth, ii. 24.

3 Hazard, i. 314, 315.

4 Charlevoix, i. 176. Winthrop, i. 13. Hazard, i. 319, 320. Williamson, i. 246, 247. Dummer's Memorial, in iii. M. H. Coll. i. 232, is an *ex parte* statement, unworthy to be cited as of authority.

CHAP. IX. on the part of those for whose benefit they were issued. The consequences were obvious. As the neighborhood of the indefinite possessions of France foreboded the border feuds of a controverted jurisdiction, so the domestic disputes about land-titles and boundaries threatened perpetual lawsuits. At the same time, enterprise was wasted by its diffusion over too wide a surface. Every harbor along the sea was accessible; groups of cabins were scattered at wide intervals, without any common point of attraction; and the agents of such proprietaries as aimed at securing a revenue from colonial rents, were often, perhaps, faithless, were always unsuccessful. How feeble were the attempts at planting towns, is evident from the nature of the tenure by which the lands near the Saco were held; the condition of the grant was the introduction of fifty settlers within seven years! Agriculture was hardly attempted. A district of forty miles square, named Lygonia, and stretching from
1630. Harpswell to the Kennebunk, was set apart for the first colony of farmers; but when a vessel of sixty tons brought over the emigrants who were to introduce the plough into the regions on Casco Bay, the earlier resident adventurers treated their scheme with derision. The musket and the hook and line were more productive than the implements of husbandry; the few members of the unsuccessful company remained but a single year in a neighborhood where the culture of the soil was so little esteemed, and, embarking once more, sought a home among the rising settlements of Massachusetts. Except for the wealth to be derived from the forest and the sea, the coast of Maine would not at that time have been tenanted by Englishmen; and this again was fatal to the

expectations of the proprietaries; since furs might be gathered and fish taken without the payment of quit-rents or the purchase of lands.[1] CHAP. IX.

Yet a pride of character sustained in Gorges an unbending hope; and he clung to the project of territorial aggrandizement. When Mason limited himself to the country west of the Piscataqua, and while Sir William Alexander obtained of the Plymouth company a patent for the eastern extremity of the United States, Gorges, alike undismayed by previous losses, and by the encroaching claims of the French, who had already advanced their actual boundary to the Penobscot, succeeded in soliciting the whole district that lies between the Kennebec and the boundary of New Hampshire. The earnestness of his designs is apparent from his appointment as governor-general of New England. If an unforeseen accident prevented his embarkation for America, and relieved Massachusetts of its apprehensions, he at least sent his nephew, William Gorges, to govern his territory. That officer repaired to the province without delay. Saco may have contained one hundred and fifty inhabitants, when the first court ever duly organized on the soil of Maine was held within its limits.[2] Before that time, there may have been some voluntary combinations among the settlers themselves; but there had existed on the Kennebec no jurisdiction of sufficient power to prevent or to punish bloodshed among the traders.[3] William Gorges remained in the country less than two years; the six Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who received a commission to act as his

1635 Feb. 3.

1636

1637

1 Hubbard's Narrative, 204. Willis, 13. 17, &c. Folsom, 318, &c. Williamson, i. 237, and ff. Gorges, 48, 49.

2 Documents in Folsom, 49—52. Josselyn, 200.

3 Hubbard, 167, 168. Winthrop.

CHAP. IX. successors, declined the trust,[1] and the infant settlements then called New Somersetshire were abandoned to anarchy, or to so imperfect a government, that of the events of two years no records can be found.

1638 to 1640.

1639 April 3. Meantime a royal charter now constituted Gorges, in his old age, the lord proprietary of the country; and his ambition immediately soared to the honor of establishing boroughs, framing schemes of colonial government, and enacting a code of laws. The veteran royalist, clearly convinced of the necessity of a vigorous executive, had but dim conceptions of popular liberty and rights; and he busied himself in making such arrangements as might have been expected from an old soldier, who was never remarkable for sagacity, had never seen America, and who, now in his dotage, began to act as a lawgiver for a rising state in another hemisphere.[2]

Such was the condition of the settlements at the north at a time when the region which lies but a little nearer the sun, was already converted, by the energy of religious zeal, into a busy, well-organized, and even opulent state. The early history of Massachusetts is the history of a class of men as remarkable for their qualities and their influence on public happiness, as any by which the human race has ever been diversified.

1624. The settlement near Weymouth was revived; a
1625. new plantation was begun near Mount Wollaston, within the present limits of Quincy; and the merchants of the West continued their voyages to the islands of New England. But these things were of

[1] Winthrop. Hubbard, 261, 262. Williamson, i. 268.
[2] Gorges, 50, and ff.

feeble influence compared with the consequences of CHAP. IX.
the attempt at a permanent establishment near Cape
Ann; for White, a minister of Dorchester, a Puritan, 1624.
but not a separatist, breathed into the enterprise a higher principle than that of the desire of gain. Roger Conant, having already left New Plymouth for Nantasket, through a brother in England, who was a
friend of White, obtained the agency of the adventure. 1625
A year's experience proved to the company, that their speculation must change its form, or it would produce no results; the merchants, therefore, paid with honest liberality all the persons whom they had employed, and abandoned the unprofitable scheme. But Conant, a man of extraordinary vigor, "inspired as it were by some superior instinct," and confiding in the active
friendship of White, succeeded in breathing a portion 1626
of his sublime courage into his three companions; and, making choice of Salem, as opening a convenient place of refuge for the exiles for religion, they resolved to remain as the sentinels of Puritanism on the Bay of Massachusetts.[1]

The design of a plantation was now ripening in the mind of White and his associates in the south-west of England. About the same time, some friends in Lin-
colnshire fell into discourse about New England; im- 1627
agination swelled with the thought of planting the pure gospel among the quiet shades of America; it seemed better to depend on the benevolence of uncultivated nature and the care of Providence, than to endure the constraints of the English laws and the severities of the English hierarchy; and who could doubt, that, at the voice of undefiled religion, the wil-

1 Hubbard, 102. 106—108. Prince, 224. 229. 231. 235, 236 Cotton Mather, b. i. c. iv. s. 3.

CHAP. IX. derness would change to a paradise for a people who lived under a bond with the Omnipresent God? After some deliberation, persons in London and the West Country were made acquainted with the design.[1]

1628 Mar 19. The council for New England, itself incapable of the generous purpose of planting colonies, was ever ready to make sale of patents, which had now become their only source of revenue. Little concerned even at making grants of territory which had already been purchased,[2] they sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicot, and Simon Whetcomb, gentlemen of Dorchester,[3] a belt of land, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, extending three miles south of the River Charles and the Massachusetts Bay, and three miles north of every part of the River Merrimac.[4] The zeal of White sought and soon found other and powerful associates in and about London,[5] kindred spirits, men of religious fervor, uniting the emotions of enthusiasm with unbending perseverance in action,—Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pynchon, Eaton, Saltonstall, Bellingham, so famous in colonial annals, besides many others, men of fortune, and friends to colonial enterprise, who desired to establish a plantation of "the best" of their countrymen on the shores of New England, in a safe seclusion, which the corruptions of human superstition might never invade. Three of the

1 Dudley to the countess of Lincoln, in i. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 37. The countess of Lincoln, to whom Dudley wrote, was "the approved Lady Briget," daughter of Lord Say, the sister-in-law, and *not the mother*, of the Lady Arbella. Savage on Winthrop, i. 2. Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 272—275. The mother of Arbella was an authoress.

2 Chalmers, 135.

3 Hubbard, 108.

4 Prince, 247. The charter repeats the boundaries.

5 Hubbard, 109. Mather, i. c iv. s. 3.

original purchasers parted with all their rights; Humphrey, Endicot, and Whetcomb, retained an equal interest with the new partners.[1] CHAP. IX.

The company, already possessing the firmness of religious zeal and the resources of mercantile opulence, and having now acquired a title to an extensive territory, immediately prepared for the emigration of a colony; and Endicot—a man of dauntless courage, and that cheerfulness which accompanies courage; benevolent, though austere; firm, though choleric; of a rugged nature, which the sternest form of Puritanism had not served to mellow—was selected as "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work."[2] His wife and family 1628 were the companions of his voyage, the hostages of June 28 his fixed attachment to the New World. His immediate attendants, and those whom the company sent over the same year, in all, not far from one hundred in number,[3] were welcomed by Conant and his faith- Sept. 13. ful associates to gloomy forests and unsubdued fields. Yet, even then, the spirit of enterprise predominated over the melancholy which is impressed upon nature in its savage state; and seven or more threaded a path through the woods to the neck of land which is now Charlestown. English courage had preceded them; they found there one English hovel already tenanted.[4]

When the news reached London of the safe arrival 1629 of the emigrants, the number of the adventurers had Feb. 13. already been much enlarged. The "Boston men" next lent their strength to the company;[5] and the Mar. 2. Puritans throughout England began to take an inter-

1 Prince, 247. Col. Records.

2 Johnson, b. i. c. ix. Hutchinson's Coll. 51, 52.

3 Hubbard, 110. Higginson's N. E. Plantation, in i. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 123. Dudley's Letter.

4 Charlestown Records, in Prince, 250; in Edward Everett's Address, 18, 19.

5 Colony Records.

CHAP. IX. est in the efforts which invited the imagination to indulge in delightful visions. Interest was also made to obtain a royal charter, with the aid of Bellingham and of White, an eminent lawyer, who advocated the design. The earl of Warwick had always been the friend of the company; Gorges had seemed to favor its advancement;[1] and Lord Dorchester, then one of the secretaries of state, is said[2] to have exerted a powerful influence in its behalf. At last, after much labor
1629. Mar. 4. and large expenditures,[3] the patent[4] for the Company of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals; a few days only before Charles I., in a public state-paper, avowed his design of governing without a parliament.

The charter, which bears the signature of Charles I., and which was cherished for more than half a century as the most precious boon, established a corporation, like other corporations within the realm. The associates were constituted a body politic by the name of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. The administration of its affairs was intrusted to a governor, deputy, and eighteen assistants, who were to be annually elected by the stockholders, or members of the corporation. Four times a year, or oftener if desired, a general assembly of the freemen was to be held; and to these assemblies, which were invested with the necessary powers of legislation, inquest, and superintendence, the most important affairs were referred. No provision required the assent of the king to render the acts of the body valid; in his eye it was but a

1 Prince, 254. Gorges' Description, 25. Gorges' Narrative, c. xxvi.

2 Document in Chalmers.

3 Letter in Hazard, i. 237.

4 The patent is at the State House in Boston, and is printed in Colony Laws, in Hutchinson's Coll., and in Hazard.

trading corporation, not a civil government; its doings were esteemed as indifferent as those of any guild or company in England; and if powers of jurisdiction in America were conceded, it was only from the nature of the business in which the stockholders were to engage.

For the charter designedly granted great facilities for colonization. It allowed the company to transport to its American territory any persons, whether English or foreigners, who would go willingly, would become lieges of the English king, and were not restrained "by especial name." It empowered, but it did not require, the governor to administer the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; yet the charter, according to the strict rules of legal interpretation,[1] was far from conceding to the patentees the privilege of freedom of worship. Not a single line alludes to such a purpose; nor can it be implied by a reasonable construction from any clause. The omission of an express guaranty left religious liberty unprovided for and unprotected. The instrument confers on the colonists the rights of English subjects; it does not confer on them new and greater rights. On the contrary, they are strictly forbidden to make laws or ordinances repugnant to the laws and statutes of the realm of England. The express concession of power to administer the oath of supremacy, demonstrates that universal religious toleration was not designed; and the freemen of the corporation, it should be remembered, were not at that time separatists. Even Higginson, and Hooker, and Cotton, were still ministers of the church of England; nor could the patentees foresee, nor the English government anticipate, how wide a departure from English

[1] Story's MS. Opinion.

CHAP. IX. usages would grow out of the emigration of Puritans to America.[1]

Considering the subject from the historical point of view, it must be observed, that the establishment of Episcopacy in New England, as the religion of the state, was impossible; since the character of the times was a guaranty, that the immense majority of emigrants would prove its uncompromising opponents. Episcopacy had no motive to emigrate; it was Puritanism, almost alone, that came over; and freedom of Puritan worship was necessarily the purpose and the result of the colony. If the privilege could not have been established as a legal right, it followed so clearly from the facts, that, in 1662, the sovereign of England, probably with the assent and at the instance of Clarendon, declared, "the principle and foundation of the charter of Massachusetts to be the freedom of liberty of conscience."[2]

The political condition of the colonists was not deemed by King Charles a subject worthy of his consideration. Full legislative and executive authority was conferred, not on the emigrants, but on the company, of which the emigrants could not be active members, so long as the charter of the corporation remained in England. The associates in London were to establish ordinances, to settle forms of government, to name all necessary officers, to prescribe their duties, and to establish a criminal code. Massachusetts was not erected into a province, to be governed by laws of its own enactment; it was reserved for the corporation to decide what degree of

[1] The editor of Winthrop did me the kindness to read to me unpublished letters, which are in his possession, and which prove that the Puritans in England were amazed, as well as alarmed, at the boldness of their brethren in Massachusetts.

[2] Document in Hutch. Col. 378.

civil rights its colonists should enjoy. The charter on which the freemen of Massachusetts succeeded in erecting a system of independent representative liberty, did not secure to them a single privilege of self-government; but left them, as the Virginians had been left, without one valuable franchise, at the mercy of a corporation within the realm. This was so evident, that some of those who had already emigrated clamored that they were become slaves.[1]

CHAP. IX. 1629

It was equally the right of the corporation to establish the terms on which new members should be admitted to its freedom. Its numbers could be enlarged or changed only by its own consent.

It was perhaps implied, though it was not expressly required, that the affairs of the company should be administered in England; yet the place for holding the courts was not specially appointed. What if the corporation should vote the emigrants to be freemen, and call a meeting beyond the Atlantic? What if the governor, deputy, assistants, and freemen, should themselves emigrate, and thus break down the distinction between the colony and the corporation? The history of Massachusetts is the counterpart to that of Virginia; the latter obtained its greatest liberty by the abrogation of the charter of its company; the former by a transfer of its charter, and a daring construction of its powers by the successors of the original patentees.

The charter had been granted in March; in April, preparations were hastening for the embarkation of new emigrants. The government which was now established for Massachusetts merits commemoration, though it was never duly organized. It was to consist

[1] Hazard, i. 257.

CHAP. IX. 1629. of a governor and counsellors, of whom eight out of the thirteen were appointed by the corporation in England; three were to be named by these eight: and, as it was said, to remove all grounds of discontent, the choice of the remaining two counsellors was granted to the colonists as a liberal boon. The board, when thus constituted, was invested with all the powers of legislation, justice, and administration. Such was the inauspicious dawn of civil and religious liberty on the Bay of Massachusetts.[1]

Benevolent instructions to Endicot were at the same time issued. "If any of the salvages"—such were the orders long and uniformly followed in all changes of government, and placed on record more than half a century before William Penn proclaimed the principles of peace on the borders of the Delaware—"pretend right of inheritance to all or any part of the lands granted in our patent, we pray you endeavor to purchase their tytle, that we may avoid the least scruple of intrusion." "Particularly publish, that no wrong or injury be offered to the natives."[2]

The departure of the fleet for America was now anxiously desired. The colonists were to be cheered by the presence of religious teachers; and the excellent and truly catholic Francis Higginson, an eminent non-conforming minister, receiving an invitation to conduct the emigrants, esteemed it as a call from Heaven.[3] The propagation of the gospel among the heathen was earnestly desired; in pious sincerity it was resolved if possible to redeem these wrecks of human nature; the colony seal was an Indian, erect,

1 Col. Records. Hazard, i. 256—268, and 268—271. Bentley, in i. Mass. Hist. Coll. vi. 235. 236.

2 Hazard, i. 263. 277.

3 Hutchinson's Coll. 24, 25. Hubbard, 112.

with an arrow in his right hand, and the motto, "Come over and help us;"[1]—a device of which the appropriateness has been lost by the modern substitution of the favorite line of Algernon Sidney;—and three additional ministers attended the expedition. The company of emigrants was winnowed before sailing; and servants of ill life were discharged. "No idle drone may live amongst us,"[2] was the spirit as well as the law of the dauntless community, which was to turn the sterility of New England into a cluster of wealthy states. CHAP IX. 1629

As the ships were bearing Higginson and his followers out of sight of their native land, they remembered it, not as the scene of their sufferings from intolerance, but as the home of their fathers, and the dwelling-place of their friends. They did not say "Farewell, Babylon! farewell, Rome! but FAREWELL, DEAR ENGLAND!"[3] May

It was in the last days of June, that the little band of two hundred arrived at Salem, where the "corruptions of the English church" were never to be planted, and where a new "reformation" was to be reduced to practice. They found neither church nor town; eight or ten pitiful hovels, one more stately tenement for the governor, and a few cornfields, were the only proofs that they had been preceded by their countrymen. The whole body of old and new planters now amounted to three hundred; of whom one third joined the infant settlement at Charlestown.[4]

1 Douglass, i. 409. Douglass is almost as rash as Oldmixon.
2 Hazard, i. 283, 284. 256.
3 Mather, b. iii. c. i. s. 12.
4 Higginson's whole account is, of course, the highest authority. See Hutchinson's Collection, 32—50, and i. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 117—124. Charlestown Records, in Prince, 261.

CHAP. IX. 1629. To the great European world the few tenants of the mud-hovels and log-cabins at Salem might appear too insignificant to merit notice; to themselves they were as the chosen emissaries of God; outcasts from England, yet favorites with Heaven; destitute of security, of convenient food and shelter, and yet blessed beyond all mankind, for they were the depositaries of the purest truth, and the selected instruments to kindle in the wilderness the beacon of pure religion, of which the undying light should not only penetrate the wigwams of the heathen, but spread its benignant beams across the darkness of the whole civilized world. The emigrants were not so much a body politic, as a church in the wilderness, with no benefactor around them but nature, no present sovereign but God. An entire
July 20. separation was made between state and church; religious worship was established on the basis of the independence of each separate religious community; all
Aug. 6. officers of the church were elected by its members; and these rigid Calvinists, of whose rude intolerance the world has been filled with malignant calumnies, subscribed a covenant, cherishing, it is true, the severest virtues, but without one tinge of fanaticism. It was an act of piety, not of study; it favored virtue, not superstition; inquiry, and not submission. The people were enthusiasts, but not bigots.[1] The church was self-constituted.[2] It did not ask the assent of the king, or recognize him as its head; its officers were
Aug. 24. set apart and ordained among themselves;[3] it used no liturgy; it rejected unnecessary ceremonies, and reduced the simplicity of Calvin to a still plainer stand-

[1] See the covenant in Neal's N. E., i. 141—143, and in Bentley's Salem, App. No. iv.

[2] Hubbard, 116—120. Prince, 263, 264. Neal's N. England, i. 144.

[3] Felt's Annals of Salem, 573—an accurate and useful work, the fruit of much original research.



Effigies Illustrissimi Dni Cæcily Calvert Baronis BALTEMORE de Baltemore in Regno Hiberniæ: Absoluti Dni et Proprietarij Provinciarum Terræ Mariæ et Avaloniæ in America etc.



ard. The motives which controlled their decisions were so deeply seated in the character of their party, that the doctrine and discipline established at Salem remained the rule of Puritan New England. CHAP. IX. 1629

There existed, even in this little band, a few to whom the new system was unexpected; and in John and Samuel Browne they found able leaders. Both were members of the colonial council; both were reputed "sincere in their affection for the good of the plantation;" they had been favorites of the corporation in England; and one of them, an experienced lawyer, had been a member of the board of assistants in London. They refused to unite with the public assembly, and, resting on the authority of English law, and their rights under the charter, they gathered a company, in which "the Common Prayer worship" was upheld. But should the emigrants—thus the colonists reasoned—give up the very purpose for which they had crossed the Atlantic? Should the hierarchy intrude on their devotions in the forests of Massachusetts? They deemed the coëxistence of their liberty and of prelacy impossible: anticipating invasions of their rights, they feared the adherents of the Establishment, as spies in the camp; and the form of religion from which they had suffered, was therefore repelled, not as a sect, but as a tyranny. "You are Separatists," said the Brownes, in self-defence, "and you will shortly be Anabaptists." "We separate," answered the ministers, "not from the Church of England, but from its corruptions. We came away from the Common Prayer and Ceremonies, in our native land, where we suffered much for non-conformity: in this place of liberty, we cannot, we will not, use them. Their imposition would be a sinful violation of the worship of God" The governor, whose self-will was

CHAP. IX. 1629. inflamed by fanaticism, and whose religious antipathies persecution had matured into hatred, the council and the people applauded; the adherents of Episcopacy were in their turn rebuked as separatists; their plea was reproved as sedition, their worship forbidden as a mutiny; while the Brownes, who could not be terrified into silence, were seized like criminals, and in the returning ships were transported to England. They were banished from Salem because they were Churchmen. Thus was Episcopacy first professed in Massachusetts, and thus was it exiled. The blessings of the promised land were to be kept for Puritanic dissenters.

1629, 1630. Winter brought disease and the sufferings incident to early settlements. Above eighty—almost half of the emigrants—died before spring, lamenting only that they were removed from the world before beholding the perfect establishment of their religion. Higginson himself fell a victim to a hectic fever; in the hour of death, the future prosperity of New England, and the coming glories of its many churches, floated in cheering visions before his eyes.

1629. The Brownes, returning to England, breathed ineffectual menaces. The ships also carried with them a description of New England by Higginson—a tract of which three editions were published within a few months, so intense an interest in the new colony had been diffused throughout the realm.

For the concession of the Massachusetts charter seemed to the Puritans like a summons from Heaven inviting them to America. There the gospel might be taught in its purity; and the works of nature would alone be the safe witnesses of their devotions. England, by her persecutions, proved herself weary of her inhabitants, who were esteemed more vile

than the earth on which they trod. Habits of expense degraded men of moderate fortune; and even the schools, which should be the fountains of living waters, had become corrupt. The New World shared in the providence of God; it had claims, therefore, to the benevolence and exertions of man. What nobler work than to abandon the comforts of England, and plant the church in a remote land, into which the advocates of false religion should never penetrate? CHAP IX.

But was it right, a scrupulous conscience demanded, to fly from persecutions? Yes, they answered, for persecutions might lead their posterity to abjure the truth. The certain misery of their wives and children was the most gloomy of their forebodings; and it must have been a stern sense of duty, which could command the powerful emotions of nature to be silent, and set aside all considerations of physical evils as the fears of too carnal minds. The rights of the natives offered an impediment more easily removed; much land had been desolated by the plague; and the good leave of the Indians might be purchased. The ill success of other plantations could not chill the rising enthusiasm: former enterprise had aimed at profit; the present object was purity of religion: the earlier settlements had been filled with a lawless multitude; it was now proposed to form "a peculiar government," and to colonize "THE BEST." Such were the "Conclusions"[1] which were privately circulated among the Puritans of England.

On the suggestion of the generous Matthew Cradock, the governor of the company,[2] it was proposed 1629 July 28.

[1] Hutchinson's Collect. 27—31 Mather, b. i. c. iv. s. 5.

[2] Prince, 262. Savage on Winthrop, i. 2. I have carefully consulted the Colony Records, which are, in general, in a good state of preservation, and which are diffuse on the subject of the transfer of the charter

CHAP. IX. 1629. that the charter should be transferred to those of the freemen who should themselves inhabit the colony; and the question immediately became the most important that could be debated. An agreement was Aug 24. at once formed at Cambridge in England, between men of fortune and education, that they would themselves embark for America, if, before the last of September, the whole government should be legally transferred to them and the other freemen of the company, who should inhabit the plantation.[1] The plan was sufficient to excite in the family of John Winthrop, and in many of the purest men in England, the desire to emigrate. "I shall call that my country," said the younger Winthrop to his father, "where I may most glorify God, and enjoy the presence of my dearest friends. Therefore herein I submit myself to God's will and yours, and dedicate myself to God and the company, with the whole endeavors, both of body and mind. The Conclusions which you sent down are unanswerable; and it cannot but be a prosperous action which is so well allowed by the judgments of God's prophets, undertaken by so religious and wise worthies in Israel, and indented to Aug. 31. God's glory in so special a service."[2] Two days after the contract had been executed, the subject was Sept. 1. again brought before the court. A serious debate ensued, and continued the next day, when it was fully and with general consent declared, that the government and the patent should be transferred beyond the Atlantic, and settled in New England.[3]

1 Hutchinson's Coll. 25, 26.

2 Winthrop, i. 359, 360. The publicity of the admirable letter is due to Savage.

3 Records, i. 31; "soe far as it may be done legally." Yet, Sept. 29, 1629 a committee was raised "to take advice of Learned Counsell, whether the same may be legally done or no." Records, i. 33

This vote was simply a decision of the question, where the future meetings of the company should be held; and yet it effectually changed a commercial corporation into an independent provincial government. The measure was believed to be consistent with the principles of the charter. The corporation did not sell itself; the corporation emigrated. They could not assign the patent; but they could call a legal meeting at London or on board ship in an English harbor; and why not in the port of Salem as well as at the Isle of Wight? in a cabin or under a tree at Charlestown, as well as at the house of Goffe in London? The propriety of the measure in a juridical point of view, has been questioned.[1] "The charter," said the government of Charles II. in 1679, "was originally to have been executed in the kingdom;" yet, two years before, the chief-justices Rainsford and North described the "charter as making the adventurers a corporation upon the place." Similar patents were granted by the Long Parliament and Charles II., to be exercised in Rhode Island and Connecticut; Baltimore and Penn long resided on their domains; and the Pilgrims brought with them a patent, which, it is true, had not passed the seals, but which was invalid for a very different reason. But, whatever may be thought of the legality of the transfer of the charter, it certainly conferred no new franchises or power on the emigrants, unless they were already members of the company; it admitted no new freemen; it gave to Massachusetts a present government; but the corporation, though it was to meet in New England, retained in its full integrity the chartered

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[1] Story's MS. Opinion.

CHAP. IX. 1629. right of admitting freemen according to its pleasure. The manner in which that power was to be exercised would control the early political character of Massachusetts.

Oct. 20. At the court convened for the purpose of appointing officers who would emigrate, John Winthrop, a man approved for piety, liberality, and conduct, was chosen governor, and the whole board of assistants
1630. Feb. selected for America. Yet, as the hour of departure drew near, the consciousness of danger spread such terrors, that even the hearts of the strong began to fail. One and another of the magistrates declined.
Mar. 18. It became necessary to hold a court at Southampton for the election of three substitutes among the assistants; and of these three, one never came over. Even after they had embarked, a court was held on board the Arbella, and Thomas Dudley was chosen deputy-governor in the place of Humphrey, who staid behind. Dudley emigrated, and had hardly reached America, before he repented that he had come; the country had been described in too favorable colors. It was principally the calm decision of Winthrop which sustained the courage of his companions. In him a yielding gentleness of temper was secured against weakness by deep but tranquil enthusiasm. "Parent-like distributing his goods to brethren and neighbors at his first coming," and, for the welfare of Massachusetts, cheerfully encountering poverty and premature age, his lenient benevolence could temper, if not subdue, the bigotry of his times. An honest royalist, averse to pure democracy, yet firm in his regard for existing popular liberties; in England a conformist, yet loving "gospel purity" even to Independency; in America mildly aristocratic, advocating a government of "the



GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

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Jo: Winthrop:

GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS

least part," yet desiring that part to be "the wiser of the best;" disinterested, brave, and conscientious, —his character marks the transition of the reformation into avowed republicanism; when the sentiment of loyalty, still sacredly cherished, was gradually yielding to the irresistible spirit of civil freedom. CHAP. IX. 1630.

The whole number of ships employed during the season was seventeen; and they carried over not far from fifteen hundred souls. About eight hundred—all of them Puritans, inclined to the party of the Independents; many of them men of high endowments, large fortune, and the best education; scholars, well versed in all the learning of the times; clergymen, who ranked among the most eloquent and pious in the realm—embarked with Winthrop for their asylum, bearing with them the charter, which was to be the basis of their liberties. The land was planted with a noble vine, wholly of the right seed. Religion did not expel the feelings of nature: before leaving Yarmouth, they published to the world the grounds of their removal, and bade an affectionate farewell to the church of England and to the land of their nativity. "Our hearts," say they, "shall be fountains of tears for your everlasting welfare, when we shall be in our poor cottages in the wilderness."

The emigrants were a body of sincere believers, desiring purity of religion, and not a colony of philosophers, bent upon universal toleration. Reverence for their faith led them to a new hemisphere, where distance might protect them from inquisition; to a soil of which they had purchased the exclusive possession, with a charter of which they had acquired the entire control; for the sake of reducing to practice the doctrines of religion and the forms of civil

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liberty, which they cherished more than life itself They constituted a corporation to which they themselves might establish, at their pleasure, the terms of admission. They held in their own hands the key to their asylum, and maintained their right of closing its doors against the enemies of its harmony and its safety.

In June and July, the ships which bore Winthrop and his immediate companions, arrived to a scene of gloom; such of the earlier emigrants as had survived the previous winter, were poor and weak from sickness; their corn and bread were hardly enough for a fortnight's supply. Instead of offering a welcome, they thronged to the new-comers to be fed. Nearly two hundred servants, who had been sent over at a great expense, received their liberty, free from all engagements: their labor—such was the excessive scarcity—was worth less than the cost of their maintenance.

The selection of places for the new plantations became the immediate care. The bay and the adjoining rivers were examined: if Charlestown was the place of the first sojourning, it was not long before the fires of civilization, never more to be quenched, were kindled in Boston and the adjacent villages. Boston, especially, had "sweet and pleasant springs," "and good land, affording rich corn-fields and fruitful gardens." The dispersion of the company was esteemed a grievance; but no time was left for long deliberation, and those who had health began to build. Yet sickness delayed the progress of the work; and death often withdrew the laborer from the fruit of his exertions. Every hardship was encountered. The emigrants lodged at best in tents of cloth and in

miserable hovels; they beheld their friends "weekly, yea, almost daily, drop away before their eyes;" in a country abounding in secret fountains, they perished for the want of good water. Many of them had been accustomed to plenty and ease, the refinements of cultivated life, and the conveniences of luxury. Woman was there to struggle against unforeseen hardships, unwonted sorrows; the men, who defied trials for themselves, were miserable at beholding those whom they cherished dismayed by the horrors which encompassed them. The virtues of Arbella Johnson, a daughter of the house of Lincoln, could not break through the gloomy shadows that surrounded her; and as she had been ill before her arrival, grief soon hurried her to the grave. Her husband, one of the first men in the colony, zealous for pure religion, in life "the greatest furtherer of the plantation," and by his bequests a benefactor of the infant state, was subdued by the force of disease and afflictions; but "he died willingly and in sweet peace," making a "most godly end." Winthrop lost a son, though not by disease. A hundred or more, some of them of the board of assistants, men who had enjoyed high consideration, and had been revered with confidence as the inseparable companions of the common misery or the common success, disheartened by the scenes of woe, and dreading famine and death, deserted Massachusetts, and sailed for England. Before December, two hundred, at the least, had died. Yet, as the brightest lightnings are kindled in the darkest clouds, the general distress did but augment the piety and confirm the fortitude of the colonists. Their enthusiasm was softened by the mildest sympathy with suffering humanity; while a sincere religious

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1630

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CHAP. IX. 1630 faith kept guard against despondency and weakness. Not a hurried line, not a trace of repining, appears in their records; the congregations always assembled at the stated times, whether in the open fields or under the shade of an ancient tree; in the midst of want they abounded in hope; in the solitudes of the wilderness, they believed themselves in company with the Greatest, the most Benevolent of Beings. Honor is due not less to those who perished than to those who survived; to the martyrs the hour of death was an hour of triumph; such as is never witnessed in more tranquil seasons; just as there can be no gorgeous sunset, but when the vapors of evening gather in heavy masses round the west, to reflect the glories of declining day. For that placid resignation, which diffuses grace round the bed of sickness, and makes death too serene for sorrow and too beautiful for fear, no one was more remarkable than the daughter of Thomas Sharp, whose youth and sex, and, as it seemed, unequalled virtues, won the warmest eulogies of the austere Dudley. Even children caught the spirit of the place; and in their last hours, awoke to the awful mystery of the impending change, awaited its approach in the tranquil confidence of faith, and went to the grave full of immortality. The survivors bore all things meekly, "remembering the end of their coming hither." "We here enjoy God and Jesus Christ," wrote Winthrop to his wife, whom pregnancy had detained in England, "and is not this enough? I thank God I like so well to be here, as I do not repent my coming. I would not have altered my course, though I had foreseen all these afflictions. I never had more content of mind."

Such were the scenes in the infant settlements of

Massachusetts. In the two following years, the colony CHAP IX.
had not even the comfort of receiving large accessions.
In 1631, ninety only came over; a smaller number 1630
than had returned the preceding year. In 1632, no more than two hundred and fifty arrived. Men dreaded the hazards of the voyage and the wilderness; and waited to learn the success of the first adventurers. Those who had deserted excused their cowardice by defaming the country. Dudley wrote plainly of the hardships to be encountered; and, moreover, the apprehension was soon raised, and never quieted, that the liberties of the colonists would be subverted by the government in England.

Purity of religion and civil liberty were the objects nearest the wishes of the emigrants. The first court Aug 23.
of assistants took measures for the support of the ministers. As others followed, the form of the administration was considered; that the liberties of the people might be secured against the encroachments of the rulers; "for," say they, "the waves of the sea do not more certainly waste the shore, than the minds of ambitious men are led to invade the liberties of their brethren." By the charter, fundamental laws were to be enacted in the assembly of all the freemen of the colony; and a general court was accordingly Oct 19
convened at Boston to settle the government. More than one hundred persons, many of them old planters and members of no church, were admitted to the franchises of the corporation; the inconvenience of gathering the whole body for purposes of legislation became but the greater and the more apparent; and the people did but reserve to themselves the right of filling such vacancies as might occur in the board of assistants. Thus the government became, for a season,

CHAP. IX. an elective aristocracy; the magistrates, holding their offices for no limited period, were to choose the governor and deputy from among themselves, and were intrusted with every branch of political power.

1631. May, O. S. 18, N. S. 28. This arrangement was temporary. At the next general court, convened late in May, after "the corn was set," the freemen, scarce one hundred and fifty in number, revoking a part of the authority of which they had been too lavish, reserved to the commons the right of annually making in the board such changes as a majority should desire. Should the right not be exercised, the former magistrates remained in power. And a law of still greater moment, pregnant with evil and with good, was at the same time established. "To the end the body of the commons may be preserved of honest and good men, it was ordered and agreed, that, for the time to come, no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same." Thus was the elective franchise narrowed. The polity was a sort of theocracy; God himself was to govern his people; and the select band of religious votaries—the men whose names an immutable decree had registered from eternity as the objects of divine love, whose election had been manifested to the world by their conscious experience of religion in the heart, whose union was confirmed by the most solemn compact formed with Heaven and one another, around the memorials of a crucified Redeemer—were, by the fundamental law of the colony, constituted the oracle of the divine will. An aristocracy was founded, but not of wealth. The servant, the bondman, might be a member of the church, and therefore a freeman of the company. Other states have limited the possession of political rights to the opulent, to free-holders, to the first-

born; the Calvinists of Massachusetts, scrupulously re- CHAP. IX.
fusing to the clergy the least shadow of political power, established the reign of the visible church—a commonwealth of the chosen people in covenant with God.

The dangers apprehended from England seemed to require a union consecrated by the holiest rites. The public mind of the colony was in other respects ripening for democratic liberty. It could not rest satisfied with leaving the assistants in possession of all authority, and of an almost independent existence; and the magistrates, with the exception of the passionate Ludlow, were willing to yield. It was therefore agreed, 1632
at the next general court, that the governor and assist- May 8.
ants should be annually chosen. The people, satisfied with the recognition of their right, reëlected their former magistrates with silence and modesty. The germ of a representative government was already visible; each town was ordered to choose two men, to appear at the next court of assistants, and concert a plan for a public treasury. The measure had become necessary; for a levy, made by the assistants alone, had already awakened alarm and opposition.

While a happy destiny was thus preparing for Massachusetts a representative government, relations of friendship were established with the natives. From the banks of the Connecticut came the sagamore of 1631
the Mohegans, to extol the fertility of his country, and Apri. 4.
solicit an English plantation as a bulwark against the Pequods; the nearer Nipmucks invoked the aid of the May
emigrants against the tyranny of the Mohawks; the 16.
son of the aged Canonicus exchanged presents with July 13.
the governor; and Miantonómoh himself, the great warrior of the Narragansetts, the youthful colleague 1632
of Canonicus, became a guest at the board of Win- Aug. 5.
throp, and was present with the congregation at a

CHAP. IX. sermon from Wilson. At last a Pequod sachem, with great store of wampumpeag, and bundles of sticks in
1634. Nov. 6. promise of so many beaver and otter skins, also came to solicit the English alliance and mediation.

Intercourse was also cherished with the earlier European settlements. To perfect friendship with the pilgrims, the governor of Massachusetts, with
1632. Oct. 26. Wilson, pastor of Boston, repaired to Plymouth. From the south shore of Boston harbor, it was a day's journey, for they travelled on foot. In honor of the great event, Bradford and Brewster, the governor and elder of the Old Colony, came forth to meet them, and conduct them to the town, where they were kindly
Oct. 28. entertained and feasted. "On the Lord's day, they did partake of the sacrament;" in the afternoon, a question was propounded for discussion; the pastor spoke briefly; the teacher prophesied; the governor of Plymouth, the elder, and others of the congregation, took part in the debate, which, by express desire, was closed by the guests from Boston. Thus was fellow-
1632. ship confirmed with Plymouth. From the Chesapeake a rich freight of corn had already been received, and trade was begun with the Dutch at Hudson's River.

These better auspices, and the invitations of Win
1633. July and Aug. throp, won new emigrants from Europe. During the long summer voyage of the two hundred passengers, who freighted the Griffin, three sermons a day beguiled their weariness. Among them was Haynes, a man of very large estate, and larger affections; of a "heavenly" mind, and a spotless life; of rare sagacity, and accurate but unassuming judgment; by nature tolerant, ever a friend to freedom, ever conciliating peace; an able legislator; dear to the people by his benevolent virtues and his disinterested conduct. Then also came the most revered spiritual teachers of two common-

wealths—the acute and subtile Cotton, the son of a Puritan lawyer; eminent at Cambridge as a scholar; quick in the nice perception of distinctions, and pliant in dialectics; in manner persuasive rather than commanding; skilled in the fathers and the schoolmen, but finding all their wisdom compactly stored in Calvin; deeply devout by nature as well as habit from childhood; hating heresy and still precipitately eager to prevent evil actions by suppressing ill opinions, yet verging towards a progress in truth and in religious freedom; an avowed enemy to democracy, which he feared as the blind despotism of animal instincts in the multitude, yet opposing hereditary power in all its forms; desiring a government of moral opinion, according to the laws of universal equity, and claiming "the ultimate resolution for the whole body of the people:"—and Hooker, of vast endowments, a strong will, and an energetic mind; ingenuous in his temper, and open in his professions; trained to benevolence by the discipline of affliction; versed in tolerance by his refuge in Holland; choleric, yet gentle in his affections; firm in his faith, yet readily yielding to the power of reason; the peer of the reformers, without their harshness; the devoted apostle to the humble and the poor, severe towards the proud, mild in his soothings of a wounded spirit, glowing with the raptures of devotion, and kindling with the messages of redeeming love; his eye, voice, gesture, and whole frame animate with the living vigor of heart-felt religion; public-spirited and lavishly charitable; and, "though persecutions and banishments had awaited him as one wave follows another," ever serenely blessed with "a glorious peace of soul;" fixed in his trust in Providence, and in nis adhesion to that cause of advancing civilization, which he cherished always, even while it remained to

CHAP. IX. 1633. him a mystery. This was he, whom, for his abilities and services, his contemporaries placed "in the first rank" of men; praising him as "the one rich pearl, with which Europe more than repaid America for the treasures from her coast." The people to whom Hooker ministered had preceded him; as he landed, they Sept. 4. crowded about him with their welcome. "Now I live" —exclaimed he, as with open arms he embraced them —"now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord."

1634. Thus recruited, the little band in Massachusetts grew more jealous of its liberties. "The prophets in exile see the true forms of the house." By a common impulse, the freemen of the towns chose deputies to consider in advance the duties of the general court. The charter plainly gave legislative power to the whole body of the freemen; if it allowed representatives, thought Winthrop, it was only by inference; and as the whole people could not always assemble, the chief power, it was argued, lay necessarily with the assistants.

Far different was the reasoning of the people. To May. check the democratic tendency, Cotton, on the election day, preached to the assembled freemen against rotation in office. The right of an honest magistrate to his place was like that of a proprietor to his freehold. But the electors, now three hundred and forty one in number, were bent on exercising "their absolute power," and, reversing the decision of the pulpit, chose a new governor and deputy. The mode of taking the votes was at the same time reformed; and instead of the erection of hands, the ballot-box was introduced. Thus "the people established a reformation of such things as they judged to be amiss in the government."

It was further decreed, that the whole body of the freemen should be convened only for the election of the magistrates; to these, with deputies to be chosen by

the several towns, the powers of legislation and appointment were henceforward intrusted. The trading corporation was unconsciously become a representative democracy. CHAP IX. 1634

The law against arbitrary taxation followed. None but the immediate representatives of the people might dispose of lands or raise money. Thus early did Massachusetts echo the voice of Virginia; like the mountain replying to the thunder, or like deep calling unto deep. The state was filled with the hum of village politicians; "the freemen of every town in the Bay were busy in inquiring into their liberties and privileges." With the exception of the principle of universal suffrage, now so happily established, the representative democracy was as perfect two centuries ago as it is to-day. Even the magistrates, who acted as judges, held their office by the annual popular choice. "Elections cannot be safe there long," said the lawyer Lechford. The same prediction has been made these two hundred years. The public mind, ever in perpetual agitation, is still easily shaken, even by slight and transient impulses; but after all its vibrations, it follows the laws of the moral world, and safely recovers its balance.

To limit the discretion of the executive, the people next demanded a written constitution; and a commission was appointed "to frame a body of grounds of laws in resemblance to a magna charta," to serve as a bill of rights. The ministers, as well as the general court, were to pass judgment on the work; and, with partial success, Cotton urged that God's people should be governed by the laws from God to Moses. 1635 May

The relative powers of the assistants and the deputies remained for nearly ten years the subject of discussion and contest. Both were elected by the people; the former by the whole colony, the latter by the sev- 1634 to 1644

CHAP. IX. eral towns. The two bodies acted together in convention; but the assistants claimed and exercised the further right of a separate negative vote on all joint proceedings. The popular branch resisted; yet the authority of the patricians was long maintained, sometimes by wise delay, sometimes by "a judicious sermon;" till, at
1644. Mar last, a compromise divided the court into two branches, and gave to each a negative on the other.

The controversy had required the arbitrament of the elders; for the rock on which the state rested was religion; a common faith had gathered, and still bound the people together. They were exclusive, for they had come to the outside of the world for the privilege of living by themselves. Fugitives from persecution, they shrank from contradiction as from the approach of peril. And why should they open their asylum to their oppressors? Religious union was made the bulwark of the exiles against expected attacks from the hierarchy of England. The wide continent of America invited colonization; they claimed their own narrow domains for "the brethren." Their religion was their life; they welcomed none but its adherents; they could not tolerate the scoffer, the infidel, or the dissenter; and the whole people met together in their congregations. Such was the system, cherished as the strong-hold of their freedom and their happiness. "The order of the churches and the commonwealth," wrote Cotton to friends in Holland, "is now so settled in New England by common consent, that it brings to mind the new heaven and new earth wherein dwells righteousness."

While the state was thus connecting by the closest bonds the energy of its faith with its form of government, there appeared in its midst one of those clear

minds, which sometimes bless the world by their power of receiving moral truth in its purest light, and of reducing the just conclusions of their principles to a happy and consistent practice. In February of the first year of the colony, but a few months after the arrival of Winthrop, and before either Cotton or Hooker had embarked for New England, there arrived at Nantasket, after a stormy passage of sixty-six days, "a young minister, godly and zealous, having precious" gifts. It was Roger Williams. He was then but a little more than thirty years of age; but his mind had already matured a doctrine which secures him an immortality of fame, as its application has given religious peace to the American world. He was a Puritan, and a fugitive from English persecution; but his wrongs had not clouded his accurate understanding; in the capacious recesses of his mind he had revolved the nature of intolerance, and he, and he alone, had arrived at the great principle which is its sole effectual remedy. He announced his discovery under the simple proposition of the sanctity of conscience. The civil magistrate should restrain crime, but never control opinion; should punish guilt, but never violate the freedom of the soul. The doctrine contained within itself an entire reformation of theological jurisprudence: it would blot from the statute-book the felony of non-conformity; would quench the fires that persecution had so long kept burning; would repeal every law compelling attendance on public worship; would abolish tithes and all forced contributions to the maintenance of religion; would give an equal protection to every form of religious faith; and never suffer the authority of the civil government to be enlisted against the mosque of the Mussulman or

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1631 Feb. 5

CHAP IX. the altar of the fire-worshipper, against the Jewish synagogue or the Roman cathedral. It is wonderful with what distinctness Roger Williams deduced these inferences from his great principle, the consistency with which, like Pascal and Edwards, those bold and profound reasoners on other subjects, he accepted every fair inference from his doctrines, and the circumspection with which he repelled every unjust imputation. In the unwavering assertion of his views he never changed his position; the sanctity of conscience was the great tenet, which, with all its consequences, he defended, as he first trod the shores of New England; and in his extreme old age it was the last pulsation of his heart. But it placed the young emigrant in direct opposition to the whole system on which Massachusetts was founded; and gentle and forgiving as was his temper, prompt as he was to concede every thing which honesty permitted, he always asserted his belief with temperate firmness and unbending benevolence.

So soon, therefore, as Williams arrived in Boston, he found himself among the New England churches, but not of them. They had not yet renounced the use of force in religion; and he could not with his entire mind adhere to churches which retained the offensive features of English legislation. What, then, was the commotion in the colony, when it was found that the people of Salem desired to receive him as their teacher! The court of Boston "marvelled" at the precipitate decision, and the people of Salem were required to forbear. Williams withdrew to the settlement of Plymouth, and remained there about two years. But his virtues had won the affections of the
1633. church of Salem; and the apostle of intellectual lib-

erty was once more welcomed to their confidence. He remained the object of public jealousy. How mild was his conduct is evident from an example. He had written an essay on the nature of the tenure by which the colonists held their lands in America; and he had argued that an English patent could not invalidate the rights of the native inhabitants. The opinion sounded, at first, like treason against the cherished charter of the colony; Williams desired only that the offensive manuscript might be burned; and so effectually explained its purport, that the court applauded his temper, and declared "that the matters were not so evil, as at first they seemed."[1]

CHAP IX.

1634 Jan. 24.

But the principles of Roger Williams led him into perpetual collision with the clergy and the government of Massachusetts. It had ever been their custom to respect the church of England, and in the mother country they frequented its service without scruple; yet its principles and its administration were still harshly exclusive. Williams would hold no communion with intolerance; for, said he, "the doctrine of persecution for cause of conscience is most evidently and lamentably contrary to the doctrine of Christ Jesus."

The magistrates insisted on the presence of every man at public worship; Williams reprobated the law; the worst statute[2] in the English code was that which did but enforce attendance upon the parish church.

[1] I derive the account of Roger Williams, in Massachusetts, exclusively from the Colony Records, Winthrop, John Cotton's diffuse quarto, and the letters and writings of Roger Williams himself. Yet I have carefully compared all that has been published about him by Hubbard, C. Mather, Prince, Callender, Hopkins, Backus, Bentley, Eliot, Dwight, Allen, Davis on Morton, Savage on Winthrop, Eddy, Felt, Upham, Knowles.

[2] 35 Elizabeth, c. i. Statutes, iv. 841.

CHAP. IX. To compel men to unite with those of a different creed, he regarded as an open violation of their natural rights; to drag to public worship the irreligious and the unwilling, seemed only like requiring hypocrisy. "An unbelieving soul is dead in sin"—such was his argument;—and to force the indifferent from one worship to another, "was like shifting a dead man into several changes of apparell." "No one should be bound to worship, or," he added, "to maintain a worship, against his own consent." "What!" exclaimed his antagonists, amazed at his tenets; "is not the laborer worthy of his hire?" "Yes," replied he, "from them that hire him."

The magistrates were selected exclusively from the members of the church; with equal propriety, reasoned Williams, might "a doctor of physick or a pilot" be selected according to his skill in theology and his standing in the church.

It was objected to him, that his principles subverted all good government. The commander of the vessel of state, replied Williams, may maintain order on board the ship, and see that it pursues its course steadily, even though the dissenters of the crew are not compelled to attend the public prayers of their companions.

But the controversy finally turned on the question of the rights and duty of magistrates to guard the minds of the people against corruption, and to punish what would seem to them error and heresy. Magistrates, Williams protested are but the agents of the people, or its trustees, on whom no spiritual power in matters of worship can ever be conferred; since conscience belongs to the individual, and is not the property of the body politic; and with admirable dialectics

clothing the great truth in its boldest and most general forms, he asserted that "the civil magistrate may not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostacy and heresy," "that his power extends only to the bodies and goods and outward estate of men."[1] With corresponding distinctness he foresaw the influence of his principles on society. "The removal of the yoke of soul-oppression,"—to use the words in which, at a later day, he confirmed his early view,—"as it will prove an act of mercy and righteousness to the enslaved nations, so it is of binding force to engage the whole and every interest and conscience to preserve the common liberty and peace."[2] CHAP IX.

The same magistrates who punished Eliot, the apostle of the Indian race, for censuring their measures, could not brook the independence of Williams; and the circumstances of the times seemed to them to justify their apprehensions. An intense jealousy was excited in England against Massachusetts; "members of the Generall Court received intelligence of some episcopal and malignant practises against the country;" and the magistrates on the one hand were scrupulously careful to avoid all unnecessary offence to the English government, on the other were sternly consolidating their own institutions, and even preparing for resistance. It was in this view that the Freeman's Oath was appointed; by which every freeman was obliged to pledge his allegiance, not to King Charles, but to Massachusetts. There was room for scruples on

1634 Nov. 27.

1634 Dec.

[1] I quote from a very rare tract of Roger Williams, which, after much search, I was so happy as to find in the hands of the aged Moses Brown, of Providence. It is "Mr. Cotton's Letter, lately printed, Examined and Answered. By Roger Williams, of Providence, in New England. London. Imprinted in the yeere 1644." Small 4to. pp. 47. It is preceded by an address of two pages to the Impartial Reader.

[2] R. Williams's Hireling Ministry, 29.

CHAP. IX. the subject; and an English lawyer would have questioned the legality of the measure. The liberty of conscience for which Williams contended, denied the
1635 Mar. 30. right of a compulsory imposition of an oath:[1] when he was summoned before the court, he could not renounce his belief; and his influence was such "that the government was forced to desist from that proceeding." To the magistrates he seemed the a ly of a civil faction; to himself he appeared only to make a frank avowal of the truth. In all his intercourse with the tribunals, he spoke with the distinctness of settled convictions. He was fond of discussion; but he was never betrayed into angry remonstrance. If he was charged with pride, it was only for the novelty of his opinions.

The scholar who is accustomed to the pursuits of abstract philosophy, lives in a region of thought far different from that by which he is surrounded. The range of his understanding is remote from the paths of common minds, and he is often the victim of the contrast. It is not unusual for the world to reject the voice of truth, because its tones are strange; to declare doctrines unsound, only because they are new; and even to charge obliquity or derangement on the man who brings forward principles which the selfish repudiate. Such has ever been the way of the world; and Socrates, and St. Paul, and Luther, and others of the most acute dialecticians, have been ridiculed as drivellers and madmen. The extraordinary development of one faculty may sometimes injure the balance of the mind; just as the constant exercise of one member of the body injures the beauty of its propor-

[1] See his opinions, fully reduced to the form of a law, at Providence, in 1647, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll vii. 96.

tions; or as the exclusive devotedness to one pursuit, politics for instance, or money, brushes away from conduct and character the agreeable varieties of light and shade. It is a very ancient remark, that folly has its corner in the brain of every wise man; and certain it is, that not the poets only, like Tasso, but the clearest minds, Sir Isaac Newton, Pascal, Spinoza, have been deeply tinged with insanity. Perhaps Williams pursued his sublime principles with too scrupulous minuteness; it was at least natural for Bradford and his contemporaries, while they acknowledged his power as a preacher, to esteem him "unsettled in judgment."

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The court at Boston remained as yet undecided; when the church of Salem,—those who were best acquainted with Williams,—taking no notice of the recent investigations, elected him to the office of their teacher. Immediately the evils inseparable on a religious establishment began to be displayed. The ministers got together and declared any one worthy of banishment, who should obstinately assert, that "the civil magistrate might not intermeddle even to stop a church from apostasy and heresy;" the magistrates delayed action, only that a committee of divines might have time to repair to Salem and deal with him and with the church in a church way. Meantime, the people of Salem were blamed for their choice of a religious guide; and a tract of land, to which they had a claim, was withheld from them as a punishment.

July 8

The breach was therefore widened. To the ministers Williams frankly, but temperately, explained his doctrines; and he was armed at all points for their defence. As his townsmen had lost their lands in consequence of their attachment to him, it would have been cowardice on his part to have abandoned them;

CHAP. IX. 1635. and the instinct of liberty led him again to the suggestion of a proper remedy. In conjunction with the church, he wrote "letters of admonition unto all the churches whereof any of the magistrates were members, that they might admonish the magistrates of their injustice." The church members alone were freemen; Williams, in modern language, appealed to the people, and invited them to instruct their representatives to do justice to the citizens of Salem.

This last act seemed flagrant treason;[1] and at the next general court, Salem was disfranchised till an ample apology for the letter should be made. The town acquiesced in its wrongs, and submitted; not an individual remained willing to justify the letter of remonstrance; the church of Williams would not avow his great principle of the sanctity of conscience; even his wife, under a delusive idea of duty, was for a season influenced to disturb the tranquillity of his home by her reproaches.[2] Williams was left alone, absolutely alone. Anticipating the censures of the colonial churches, he declared himself no longer subjected to their spiritual jurisdiction. "My own voluntary withdrawing from all these churches, resolved to continue in persecuting the witnesses of the Lord, presenting light unto them, I confess it was mine own voluntary act; yea, I hope the act of the Lord Jesus, sounding forth in me the blast, which shall in his own holy season cast down the strength and confidence of
Oct. those inventions of men."[3] When summoned to appear before the general court, he avowed his convictions in the presence of the representatives of the state, "maintained the rocky strength of his grounds," and

1 Cotton calls it crimen majestatis laesae.

2 Master John Cotton's Reply, 9.

3 Cotton's Letter Examined, 3.

CHAP. IX.

declared himself "ready to be bound and banished and even to die in New England," rather than renounce the opinions which had dawned upon his mind in the clearness of light. At a time when Germany was the battle-field for all Europe in the implacable wars of religion; when even Holland was bleeding with the anger of vengeful factions; when France was still to go through the fearful struggle with bigotry; when England was gasping under the despotism of intolerance almost half a century before William Penn became an American proprietary; and two years before Descartes founded modern philosophy on the method of free reflection,—Roger Williams asserted the great doctrine of intellectual liberty. It became his glory to found a state upon that principle, and to stamp himself upon its rising institutions, in characters so deep that the impress has remained to the present day, and, can never be erased without the total destruction of the work. The principles which he first sustained amidst the bickerings of a colonial parish, next asserted in the general court of Massachusetts, and then introduced into the wilds on Narragansett Bay, he soon found occasion to publish to the world, and to defend as the 1644
basis of the religious freedom of mankind; so that, borrowing the rhetoric employed by his antagonist in derision, we may compare him to the lark, the pleasant bird of the peaceful summer, that, "affecting to soar aloft, springs upward from the ground, takes his rise from pale to tree," and at last, surmounting the highest hills, utters his clear carols through the skies of morning.[1] He was the first person in modern Christendom to assert in its plenitude the doctrine of the liberty of

[1] John Cotton's Reply, 2.

CHAP. IX. conscience, the equality of opinions before the law and in its defence he was the harbinger of Milton, the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor. For Taylor limited his toleration to a few Christian sects; the philanthropy of Williams compassed the earth: Taylor favored partial reform, commended lenity, argued for forbearance, and entered a special plea in behalf of each tolerable sect; Williams would permit persecution of no opinion, of no religion, leaving heresy unharmed by law, and orthodoxy unprotected by the terrors of penal statutes. Taylor still clung to the necessity of positive regulations enforcing religion and eradicating error; he resembled the poets, who, in their folly, first declare their hero to be invulnerable, and then clothe him in earthly armor: Williams was willing to leave Truth alone, in her own panoply of light,[1] believing that if, in the ancient feud between Truth and Error, the employment of force could be entirely abrogated, Truth would have much the best of the bargain. It is the custom of mankind to award high honors to the successful inquirer into the laws of nature, to those who advance the bounds of human knowledge. We praise the man who first analyzed the air, or resolved water into its elements, or drew the lightning from the clouds; even though the discoveries may have been as much the fruits of time as of genius. A moral principle has a much wider and nearer influence on human happiness; nor can any discovery of truth be of more direct benefit to society, than that which establishes a perpetual religious peace, and spreads tranquillity through every community and every bosom. If Copernicus is held in perpetual reverence, because, on his death-bed, he published to the world that the

1 The expression is partly from Gibbon and Sir Henry Vane.

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sun is the centre of our system; if the name of Kepler is preserved in the annals of human excellence for his sagacity in detecting the laws of the planetary motion; if the genius of Newton has been almost adored for dissecting a ray of light, and weighing heavenly bodies as in a balance,—let there be for the name of Roger Williams at least some humble place among those who have advanced moral science, and made themselves the benefactors of mankind.

But if the opinion of posterity is no longer divided, 1635 the members of the general court of that day pronounced against him the sentence of exile;[1] yet not by a very numerous majority. Some, who consented to his banishment, would never have yielded but for the persuasions of Cotton; and the judgment was vindicated, not as a punishment for opinion, or as a restraint on freedom of conscience, but because the application of the new doctrine to the construction of the patent, to the discipline of the churches, and to the "oaths for making tryall of the fidelity of the people," seemed about "to subvert the fundamental state and government of the country."

Winter was at hand; Williams succeeded in obtaining permission to remain till spring; intending then to begin a plantation in Narragansett Bay. But the affections of the people of Salem revived, and could not be restrained; they thronged to his house to hear him whom they were so soon to lose forever; it began to be rumored, that he could not safely be allowed to found a new state in the vicinity; "many of the people were much taken with the apprehension of his godliness;" his opinions were contagious; the

[1] Winthrop, i. 170, 171. Colony Records, i. 163. John Cotton's Reply, 27. 29. Roger Williams's Account, ibid. 24, and ff.

CHAP. IX. 1636 Jan. infection spread widely. It was therefore resolved to remove him to England in a ship that was just ready to set sail. A warrant was accordingly sent to him to come to Boston and embark. For the first time, he declined the summons of the court. A pinnace was sent for him; the officers repaired to his house; he was no longer there. Three days before, he had left Salem, in winter snow and inclement weather, of which he remembered the severity even in his late old age. "For fourteen weeks, he was sorely tost in a bitter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean."[1] Often in the stormy night he had neither fire, nor food, nor company; often he wandered without a guide, and had no house but a hollow tree.[2] But he was not without friends. The same scrupulous respect for the rights of others, which had led him to defend the freedom of conscience, had made him also the champion of the Indians. He had already been zealous to acquire their language, and knew it so well that he could debate with them in their own dialect During his residence at Plymouth, he had often been the guest of the neighboring sachems; and now, when he came in winter to the cabin of the chief of Pokanoket, he was welcomed by Massasoit; and "the barbarous heart of Canonicus, the chief of the Narragansetts, loved him as his son to the last gasp." "The ravens," he relates with gratitude, "fed me in the wilderness." And in requital for their hospitality, he was ever through his long life their friend and benefactor; the apostle of Christianity to them without hire, without weariness, and without impatience at their idolatry; the guardian of their rights; the pacif-

1 Roger Williams to Mason, in i. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 276.

2 Roger Williams's Key. Reprinted in R. I. Hist. Coll i.

icator, when their rude passions were inflamed; and their unflinching advocate and protector, whenever Europeans attempted an invasion of their soil. CHAP IX. 1636

He first pitched and began to build and plant at Seekonk. But Seekonk was found to be within the patent of Plymouth; on the other side of the water, the country opened in its unappropriated beauty and there he might hope to establish a community as free as the other colonies. "That ever-honored Governor Winthrop," says Williams, "privately wrote to me to steer my course to the Narragansett Bay, encouraging me from the freeness of the place from English claims or patents. I took his prudent motion as a voice from God."

It was in June that the lawgiver of Rhode Island, with five companions, embarked on the stream; a frail Indian canoe contained the founder of an independent state and its earliest citizens. Tradition has marked the spring near which they landed; it is the parent spot, the first inhabited nook of Rhode Island. To express his unbroken confidence in the mercies of God, Williams called the place PROVIDENCE. "I desired," said he, "it might be for a shelter for persons distressed for conscience."[1]

In his new abode, Williams could have less leisure for contemplation and study. "My time," he observes of himself,—and it is a sufficient apology for the roughness of his style, as a writer on morals,—"was not spent altogether in spiritual labors; but, day and night, at home and abroad, on the land and water, at the hoe, at the oar, for bread."[2] In the course of two

[1] Backus, i. 94. There is in Backus much evidence of diligent research and critical respect for documentary testimony. He deserves more reputation than he has had.

[2] Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody, 38, in Knowles.

CHAP. IX. years, he was joined by others, who fled to his asylum. The land which was now occupied by Williams, was within the territory of the Narragansett Indians; it
1638. Mar. 24. was not long before an Indian deed from Canonicus and Miantonomoh[1] made him the undisputed possessor of an extensive domain. Nothing displays more clearly the character of Roger Williams than the use which he made of his acquisition of territory. The soil he could claim as his "own, as truly as any man's coat upon his back;"[2] and he "reserved to himself not one foot of land, not one tittle of political power, more than he granted to servants and strangers." "He gave away his lands and other estate to them that he thought were most in want, until he gave away all."[3] He chose to found a commonwealth in the unmixed forms of a pure democracy; where the will of the majority should govern the state; yet "only in civil things;" God alone was respected as the Ruler of conscience. To their more aristocratic neighbors, it seemed as if these fugitives "would have no magistrates;"[4] for every thing was as yet decided in convention of the people. This first system has had its influence on the whole political history of Rhode Island; in no state in the world, not even in the agricultural state of Vermont, has the magistracy so little power, or the representatives of the freemen so much. The annals of Rhode Island, if written in the spirit of philosophy, would exhibit the forms of society under a peculiar aspect: had the territory of the state corresponded to the importance and singularity of the principles of its early existence, the world would have

1 Backus, i. 89, 90. Knowles, 106, 107.

2 Backus, i. 290 Knowles, c. viii.

3 Letter of Daniel Williams.

4 Winthrop, i. 293. Hubbard 338.

been filled with wonder at the phenomena of its history.

The most touching trait in the founder of Rhode Island was his conduct towards his persecutors. Though keenly sensitive to the hardships which he had endured, he was far from harboring feelings of revenge towards those who banished him, and only regretted their delusion. "I did ever, from my soul, honor and love them, even when their judgment led them to afflict me."[1] In all his writings on the subject, he attacked the spirit of intolerance, the doctrine of persecution, and never his persecutors or the colony of Massachusetts. Indeed, we shall presently behold him requite their severity by exposing his life at their request and for their benefit. It is not strange, then, if "many hearts were touched with relentings. That great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly visited me," says the exile, "and put a piece of gold into the hands of my wife, for our supply;"[2] the founder, the legislator, the proprietor of Rhode Island, owed a shelter to the hospitality of an Indian chief, and his wife the means of sustenance to the charity of a stranger. The half-wise Cotton Mather concedes, that many judicious persons confessed him to have had the root of the matter in him; and his nearer friends, the immediate witnesses of his actions, declared him, from "the whole course and tenor of his life and conduct, to have been one of the most disinterested men that ever lived, a most pious and heavenly-minded soul."[3]

Thus was Rhode Island the offspring of Massachusetts; but her political connections were long influenced by the circumstance of her origin. The loss of the

[1] Winthrop and Savage, i. 65 [2] Williams to Mason.
[3] Callender, 17.

CHAP. IX. few emigrants who resorted to the new state, was not sensibly felt in the parent colony; for the Bay of Massachusetts was already thronged with squadrons. The emigrants had from the first been watched in the mother country with intense interest; a letter from New England was venerated "as a sacred script, or as the writing of some holy prophets, and was carried many miles, where divers came to hear it."[1] When the first difficulties had been surmounted, the stream of emigration flowed with a full current; "Godly people in England began to apprehend a special hand
1634. of Providence in raising this plantation, and their hearts were generally stirred to come over." New settle-
1635. ments were, therefore, formed. A little band, toiling through thickets of ragged bushes, and clambering over crossed trees, made its way along Indian paths to the green meadows of Concord. The suffering settlers burrowed for their first shelter under a hill-side. Tearing up roots and bushes from the ground, they subdued the stubborn soil with the hoe, glad to gain even a lean crop from the wearisome and imperfect culture. The cattle sickened on the wild fodder; sheep and swine were destroyed by wolves; there was no flesh but game. The long rains poured through the insufficient roofs of their smoky cottages, and troubled even the time for sleep. Yet the men labored willingly, for they had their wives and little ones about them. The forest rung with their psalms; and "the poorest of the people of God in the whole world," they were resolved "to excel in holiness." Such was the infancy of a New England village.[2] Would that village one day engage the attention of the world?

1 Old Planters' Narrative, 17.
2 Johnson, c. xxxv. R. W. Emerson's Historical Discourse, 7. 11

Meantime the fame of the liberties of Massachusetts extended widely: the good-natured earl of Warwick, a friend to advancement in civil liberty, though not a republican, offered his congratulations on its prosperity; and in a single year three thousand new settlers were added to the Puritan colony. Among these was the fiery Hugh Peters, who had been pastor of a church of English exiles in Rotterdam; a republican of an enlarged spirit, great energy, and popular eloquence, not always tempering active enterprise with solidity of judgment. At the same time came Henry Vane, the younger, a man of the purest mind; a statesman of spotless integrity; whose name the progress of intelligence and liberty will erase from the rubric of fanatics and traitors, and insert high among the aspirants after truth and the martyrs for liberty. He had valued the "obedience of the gospel" more than the successful career of English diplomacy, and cheerfully "forsook the preferments of the court of Charles for the ordinances of religion in their purity in New England." He was happy in the possession of an admirable genius, though naturally more inclined to contemplative excellence than to action: he was happy in the eulogist of his virtues; for Milton, ever so parsimonious of praise, reserving the majesty of his verse to celebrate the glories and vindicate the providence of God, was lavish of his encomiums on the youthful friend of religious liberty. But Vane was

attaining early in life a firmly-set-
s, and in possessing an energetic
his conduct to the very last con-
doctrines he had espoused, turning his
nto a seal of the witness, which his life
ne with noble consistency to the freedom

CHAP. IX. of conscience and the people. "If he were not superior to Hampden," says Clarendon, "he was inferior to no other man;" "his whole life made good the imagination, that there was in him something extraordinary."[1]

The freemen of Massachusetts, pleased that a young man of such elevated rank and distinguished ability should have adopted their creed, and joined them in
1636. their exile, elected him their governor. The choice was unwise; for neither the age nor the experience of Vane entitled him to the distinction. He came but as a sojourner, and not as a permanent resident; neither was he imbued with the colonial prejudices, the genius of the place; and his clear mind, unbiased by previous discussions, and fresh from the public business of England, saw distinctly what the colonists did not wish to see, the really wide differenc between their practice under their charter and the meaning of that instrument on the principles of English jurisprudence.[2]

These latent causes of discontent could not but be eventually displayed; at first the arrival of Vane was considered an auspicious pledge for the emigration of men of the highest rank in England. Several of the English peers, especially Lord Say and Seal, a Presbyterian, a friend to the Puritans, yet with but dim perceptions of the true nature of civil liberty, and Lord Brooke, a man of charity and meekness, an early friend to tolerance, had begun to inquire into the character of the rising institutions, and to negotiate for such changes as would offer them inducements for removing to America. They demanded a division

1 Clarendon, b. vii. and b. iii. vol. ii. 379, and vol. i. 186, 187, 188.

2 I find proofs of this in Hutchinson's Co.. 72, 73. 76, and 83; so, too, in Winthrop, i. 187.

of the general court into two branches, that of assistants and of representatives,—a change which was acceptable to the people, and which, from domestic reasons, was ultimately adopted; but they further required an acknowledgment of their own hereditary right to a seat in the upper house. The fathers of Massachusetts were disposed to conciliate these powerful friends: they promised them the honors of magistracy, would have readily conferred it on some of them for life, and actually began to make appointments on that tenure; but as for the establishment of hereditary dignity, they answered by the hand of Cotton, "Where God blesseth any branch of any noble or generous family with a spirit and gifts fit for government, it would be a taking of God's name in vain to put such a talent under a bushel, and a sin against the honor of magistracy to neglect such in our public elections. But if God should not delight to furnish some of their posterity with gifts fit for magistracy, we should expose them rather to reproach and prejudice, and the commonwealth with them, than exalt them to honor, if we should call them forth, when God doth not, to public authority." And thus the proposition for establishing hereditary nobility was defeated. The people, moreover, were uneasy at the permanent concession of office; Saltonstall, "that much-honored and upright-hearted servant of Christ," loudly reproved "the sinful innovation," and advocated its reform; nor would the freemen be quieted, till it was made a law, that those who were appointed magistrates for life, should yet not be magistrates except in those years in which they might be regularly chosen at the annual election.

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The institutions of Massachusetts, which were thus endangered by the influence of men of rank in Eng- 1636

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land, were likewise in jeopardy from the effects of religious divisions. The minds of the colonists were excited to intense activity on questions which the nicest subtlety only could have devised, and which none but those experienced in the shades of theological opinions could long comprehend. For it goes with these opinions as with colors; of which the artist who works in mosaic, easily and regularly discriminates many thousand varieties, where the common eye can discern a difference only on the closest comparison. Boston and its environs were now employed in theological controversy; and the transports of enthusiasm sustained the toil of abstruse speculations. The most profound questions which can relate to the mysteries of human existence and the laws of the moral world, questions which the mind, in the serenity of unclouded reflection, may hardly aspire to solve, were discussed with passionate zeal; eternity was summoned to reveal its secrets; human tribunals pretended to establish for the Infinite Mind the laws on which the destinies of the soul depend; the Holy Spirit was claimed as the inward companion of man; while many persons, in their zeal to distinguish between abstract truth and the outward forms under which truth is conveyed, between unchanging principles and changing institutions, were in perpetual danger of making shipwreck of all religious faith, and hardly paused to sound their way, as they proceeded through the "dim and perilous" paths of speculative science.

Amidst the arrogance of spiritual pride, the vagaries of undisciplined imaginations, and the extravagances to which the intellectual power may be led in its pursuit of ultimate principles, the formation of two distinct parties may be perceived. The first consisted

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of the original settlers, the framers of the civil government, and their adherents; they who were intent on the foundation and preservation of a commonwealth, and were satisfied with the established order of society. They had founded their government on the basis of the church, and church membership could be obtained only by the favor of the clergy and an exemplary life. They dreaded unlimited freedom of opinion as the parent of ruinous divisions. "The cracks and flaws in the new building of the reformation," thought they, "portend a fall;"[1] they desired patriotism, union, and a common heart; they were earnest to confirm and build up the state, the child of their cares and their sorrows. They were reproached with being "priest-ridden magistrates,"[2] "under a covenant of works."

The other party was composed of individuals who had arrived after the civil government and religious discipline of the colony had been established. They came fresh from the study of the tenets of Geneva; and their pride consisted in following the principles of the reformation with logical precision to all their consequences. Their eyes were not primarily directed to the institutions of Massachusetts, but to the doctrines of their religious system. They had come to the wilderness for freedom of religious opinion; and they resisted every form of despotism over the mind. To them the clergy of Massachusetts were "the ushers of persecution,"[3] "popish factors,"[4] who had not imbibed the true doctrines of Christian reform; and they applied to the influence of the Puritan ministers the principle which Luther and Calvin had employed against the observances and pretensions of the Roman

1 Shepherd's Lamentation, 2.

2 The phrase is William Coddington's. See Besse, ii. 267.

3 Coddington, in Besse, ii. 267.

4 Welde's Rise, Reign, and Ruin.

CHAP. IX. church.[1] Every political opinion, every philosophica tenet, assumed in those days a theological form: with the doctrine of justification by faith alone, they derided the formality of the established religion; and by asserting that the Holy Spirit dwells in every believer, that the revelation of the Spirit is superior "to the ministry of the word,"[2] they sustained with intense fanaticism the paramount authority of private judgment.

The founder of this party was Anne Hutchinson, a woman of such admirable understanding "and profitable and sober carriage,"[3] that she won a powerful party in the country,[4] and her enemies could never speak of her without acknowledging her eloquence and her ability. She was encouraged by John Wheelwright, her brother, and by Henry Vane, the governor of the colony; while a majority of the people of Boston sustained her in her rebellion against the clergy. Scholars and men of learning, members of the magistracy and the general court adopted her opinions.[5] The public mind seemed hastening towards an insurrection against spiritual authority; and she was denounced as "weakening the hands and hearts of the people towards the ministers,"[6] as being "like Roger Williams or worse."[7]

The subject possessed the highest political importance. Nearly all the clergy, except Cotton, in whose house Vane was an inmate,[8] clustered together[9] in defence of their influence, and in opposition to Vane;
1637. Mar. and Wheelwright, who, in a fast-day's sermon, had strenuously maintained the truth of his opinions, and

1 Winthrop, i. 213, 214.
2 Winthrop, i. 201, and in Hutchinson, ii. 443.
3 Welde's Rise, Reign, &c.
4 Dudley, in Hutchinson, ii. 427.
5 Welde's Rise, Reign, &c.
6 Winthrop, in Hutch., ii. 443.
7 Winthrop, in Hutch. Coll.
8 Suffolk Prob. Records, i. 72
9 Winthrop, i. 215.

had never been confuted,[1] in spite of the remonstrance of the governor, was censured by the general court for sedition.[2] At the ensuing choice of magistrates, the religious divisions controlled the elections. The friends of Wheelwright had threatened an appeal to England; but in the colony "it was accounted perjury and treason to speak of appeals to the king."[3] The contest appeared, therefore, to the people, not as the struggle for intellectual freedom against the authority of the clergy, but as a contest for the liberties of Massachusetts against the power of the English government. Could it be doubted who would obtain the confidence of the people? In the midst of such high excitement, that even the pious Wilson climbed into a tree to harangue the people on election day, Winthrop and his friends, the fathers and founders of the colony, recovered the entire management of the government.[4] But the dispute infused its spirit into every thing; it interfered with the levy of troops for the Pequod war;[5] it influenced the respect shown to the magistrates; the distribution of town-lots; the assessment of rates; and at last the continued existence of the two opposing parties was considered inconsistent with the public peace. To prevent the increase of a faction esteemed to be so dangerous, a law, somewhat analogous to the alien law in England, and to the European policy of passports, was enacted by the party in power; none should be received within the jurisdiction, but such as should be allowed by some of the magistrates. The dangers which were simultaneously menaced from the Episcopal party in the mother

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1 Henry Vane, in Hutch. Coll. 82.
2 Comp S. Gorton's Simplicity's Defence, 44.
3 Burdett's Letter to Laud.
4 Winthrop, i. 219, 220. Col. Records. Hutch. Coll. 63, and ff.
5 Welde, 27. Mather, b. vii. c. iii. s. 5. Hutch. Coll. 80.

CHAP. IX. 1637. country, gave to the measure an air of magnanimous defiance; it was almost a proclamation of independence. As an act of intolerance, it found in Vane an inflexible opponent, and, using the language of the times, he left a memorial of his dissent. "Scribes and Pharisees, and such as are confirmed in any way of error,"—these are the remarkable words of the man, who soon embarked for England, where he afterwards pleaded in parliament for the liberties of Catholics and Dissenters,—"all such are not to be denyed cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed. Ishmael shall dwell in the presence of his brethren."

The friends of Wheelwright could not brook the censure of their leader; but they justified their indignant remonstrances by the language of fanaticism. "A new rule of practice by immediate revelations,"[1] was now to be the guide of their conduct; not that they expected a revelation "in the way of a miracle;" such an idea Anne Hutchinson rejected "as a delusion;"[2] they only slighted the censures of the ministers and the court, and avowed their determination to follow the impulses of conscience. But individual conscience is often the dupe of interest, and often but a more honorable name for self-will. The government feared, or pretended to fear, a disturbance of the public peace, a wild insurrection of lawless fanatics. A synod of the ministers of New England was therefore assembled, to accomplish the difficult task of settling the true faith. Numerous opinions were harmoniously condemned; and vagueness of language, so often the parent of furious controversy, performed the office of a peace-maker. Now that Vane had returned

Aug.

1 Welde, 45, ed. 1692, or 42, ed. 1644.

2 Testimony of John Cotton, in Hutchinson, ii. 443.

to England, it was hardly possible to find any grounds of difference between the flexible Cotton and his equally orthodox opponents. The general peace of the colony being thus assured, the triumph of the clergy was complete; and the civil magistrates proceeded to pass sentence on the more resolute offenders. Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson, and Aspinwall, were exiled from the territory of Massachusetts, as "unfit for the society" of its citizens; and their adherents, who, it was feared, "might, upon some revelation, make a sudden insurrection," and who were ready to seek protection by an appeal from the authority of the colonial government, were, like the tories during the war for independence, required to deliver up their arms.

So ended the Antinomian strife in Massachusetts.[1] The principles of Anne Hutchinson were a natural consequence of the progress of the reformation. She had imbibed them in Europe; and it is a singular fact, though easy of explanation, that, in the very year 1637 in which she was arraigned at Boston, Descartes, like herself a refugee from his country, like herself a prophetic harbinger of the spirit of the coming age, established philosophic liberty on the method of free reflection. Both asserted that the conscious judgment of the mind is the highest authority to itself. Descartes did but promulgate, under the philosophic form of free reflection, the same truth which Anne Hutchinson, with the fanaticism of impassioned conviction, avowed under the form of inward revelations.

[1] On this strife I have read the Col Records; the decisions of the synod; the copious Winthrop; the Documents in Hutchinson's Coll.; Welde's Rise, Reign, and Ruin; T. Shepherd's Lamentation; a fragment of Wheelwright's Sermon; and the statement of John Cotton himself, in his reply to Williams; also, Saml. Gorton, Hubbard, C. Mather, Neal, Hutchinson, Callender, Backus, Savage, and Knowles.

CHAP. IX. The true tendency of the principles of Anne Hutchinson is best established by examining the institutions which were founded by her followers. We shall hereafter trace the career of Henry Vane.

Wheelwright and his immediate friends removed to the banks of the Piscataqua; and, at the head of tide waters on that stream, they founded the town of Exeter; one more little republic in the wilderness, organized on the principles of natural justice by the voluntary combination of the inhabitants.[1]

The larger number of the friends of Anne Hutchinson, led by John Clarke and William Coddington, proceeded to the south, designing to make a plantation on Long Island, or near Delaware Bay. But Roger
1638. Williams welcomed them to his vicinity; and his own
Mar. 24. influence, and the powerful name of Henry Vane, prevailed with Miantonomoh, the chief of the Narragansetts, to obtain for them a gift of the beautiful island of Rhode Island. The spirit of the institutions established by this band of voluntary exiles, on the soil which they owed to the benevolence of the natives, was derived from natural justice: a social compact, signed after the manner of the precedent at New Plymouth, so often imitated in America, founded the
Mar. 7. government upon the basis of the universal consent of every inhabitant: the forms of the administration were borrowed from the examples of the Jews. Cod-
Nov 11 dington was elected judge in the new Israel; and three elders were soon chosen as his assistants. The colony rested on the principle of intellectual liberty: philosophy itself could not have placed the right on a
1641 broader basis. The settlement prospered; and it be-
Mar. 16-19 came necessary to establish a constitution. It was

1 Exeter Records, in Farmer's Belknap. 432

therefore ordered by the whole body of freemen, and "unanimously agreed upon, that the government, which this body politic doth attend unto in this island, and the jurisdiction thereof, in favor of our Prince, is a DEMOCRACIE, or popular government; that is to say it is in the power of the body of freemen orderly assembled, or major part of them, to make or constitute just Lawes, by which they will be regulated, and to depute from among themselves such ministers as shall see them faithfully executed between man and man."[1] "It was further ordered, that none be accounted a delinquent for doctrine;" the law for "liberty of conscience was perpetuated." The little community was held together by the bonds of affection and freedom of opinion: benevolence was their rule: they trusted in the power of love to win the victory; and "the signet for the state" was ordered to be "a sheafe of arrows," with "the motto AMOR VINCET OMNIA." A patent from England seemed necessary for their protection; and to whom could they direct their letters but to the now powerful Henry Vane?[2]

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1641 Sept. 9.

Such were the institutions which sprung from the party of Anne Hutchinson. But she did not long enjoy their protection. Recovering from a transient dejection of mind, she had gloried in her sufferings, as her greatest happiness;[3] and, making her way through the forest, she travelled by land[4] to the settlement of Roger Williams, and from thence joined her friends on the island, sharing with them the hardships of early

[1] I copied this, word for word, from the Records, now in Providence.

[2] MS. extracts from R. I. Rec. Compare Callender, 29, &c.; Backus, i. 91. 96, &c.; Knowles, c. xi

[3] Winthrop, i. 258.

[4] Ibid. i. 259. Even Winthrop could err as to facts; see i. 296, and Savage's note. The records refute Winthrop's statement.

CHAP. IX. emigrants.[1] Her powerful mind still continued its activity; young men from the colonies became converts to her opinions; and she excited such admiration, that to the leaders in Massachusetts it "gave cause of
1642. suspicion of witchcraft."[2] She was in a few years left a widow, but was blessed with affectionate children. A tinge of fanaticism pervaded her family: one of her sons, and Collins her son-in-law, had ven-
1641. tured to expostulate with the people of Boston on the wrongs of their mother. But would the Puritan magistrates of that day tolerate an attack on their government?[3] Severe imprisonment for many months was the punishment inflicted on the young men for their boldness. Rhode Island itself seemed no longer a safe place of refuge; and the whole family removed beyond New Haven into the territory of the Dutch.
1643. The violent Kieft had provoked an insurrection among the Indians; the house of Anne Hutchinson was attacked and set on fire; herself, her son-in-law, and all their family, save one child, perished by the rude weapons of the savages, or were consumed by the flames.[4]

Thus was personal suffering mingled with the peaceful and happy results of the watchfulness or the intolerance of Massachusetts. The legislation of that colony may be reproved for its jealousy, yet not for its cruelty, and Williams, and Wheelwright, and Aspinwall, suffered not much more from their banishment than some of the best men of the colony encountered from choice. For rumor had spread not wholly extravagant accounts of the fertility of the alluvial land along the borders

1 Gorton, in Hutchinson, i. 73.
2 Winthrop, ii. 9.
3 Ibid. ii. 39.
4 Saml. Gorton's Defence, 58, 59 Winthrop, ii. 136.

of the Connecticut; and the banks of that river were already adorned with the villages of the Puritans, planted just in season to anticipate the rival designs of the Dutch. CHAP. IX.

The valley of the Connecticut had early become an object of desire and of competition. The earl of Warwick was the first proprietary of the soil, under a grant from the council for New England; and it was next held by Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brooke, John Hampden, and others, as his assigns.[1] Before any colony could be established with their sanction, the people of New Plymouth had built a trading house at Windsor, and conducted with the natives a profitable commerce in furs. "Dutch intruders" from Manhattan, ascending the river, had also raised at Hartford the house "of Good Hope," and struggled to secure the territory to themselves. The younger Winthrop, the future benefactor of Connecticut, one of those men in whom the elements of human excellence are mingled in the happiest union, returned from England with a commission from the proprietaries of that region, to erect a fort at the mouth of the stream—a purpose which was accomplished. Yet, before his arrival in Massachusetts Bay, settlements had been commenced, by emigrants from the environs of Boston, at Hartford, and Windsor, and Wethersfield; and in the last days of the pleasantest of the autumnal months, a company of sixty pilgrims, women and children being of the number, began their march to the west. Never before had the forests of America witnessed such a scene. But the journey was begun too late in the season: the winter was so unusually early and severe, that provisions could not arrive by way of the river;

1630 1631 Mar. 19. 1633 Oct. 1633 Jan. 8. 1635. July 7. Oct. 8. Oct. 15, O. S. Nov. 15

1 Trumbull's Connecticut, i. App. No. i.

CHAP. IX. imperfect shelter had been provided; cattle perished in great numbers; and the men suffered such privations, that many of them, in the depth of winter, abandoned their newly-chosen homes, and waded through the snows to the sea-board.

1636. April 26. Yet, in the opening of the next year, a government was organized, and civil order established; and the budding of the trees and the springing of the grass were May. signals for a greater emigration to the Connecticut. Some smaller parties had already made their way to the new Hesperia of Puritanism. In June, the principal caravan began its march, led by Thomas Hooker, "the light of the Western Churches." There were of the company about one hundred souls; many of them persons accustomed to affluence and the ease of European life. They drove before them numerous herds of cattle; and thus they traversed on foot the pathless forests of Massachusetts; advancing hardly ten miles a day through the tangled woods, across the swamps and numerous streams, and over the highlands that separated the several intervening valleys; subsisting, as they slowly wandered along, on the milk of the kine, which browsed on the fresh leaves and early June. shoots; having no guide, through the nearly untrodden wilderness, but the compass, and no pillow for their nightly rest but heaps of stones. How did the hills echo with the unwonted lowing of the herds! How were the forests enlivened by the loud and fervent piety of Hooker![1] Never again was there such a pilgrimage from the sea-side "to the delightful banks" of the Connecticut. The emigrants had been gathered from among the most valued citizens, the earliest settlers, and the oldest churches of the Bay. John

[1] Hooker was "a Son of Thunder." See Morton, 239 and 240.



EMIGRATION TO [illegible]

Haynes had for one year been the governor of Massachusetts; and Hooker had no rival in public estimation but Cotton, whom he surpassed in force of character, in boldness of spirit, and in honorable clemency. Historians, investigating the causes of events, have endeavored to find the motives of this settlement in the jealous ambition of the minister of Hartford. Such ingenuity is gratuitous. The Connecticut was at that time supposed to be the best channel for a great internal traffic in furs; and its meadows, already proverbial for the richness of their soil, had accquired the same celebrity as in a later day the banks of the Genesee, or the bottom lands of the Miami. CHAP IX.

The new settlement, that seemed so far towards the west, was environed by perils. The Dutch still indulged a hope of dispossessing the English, and the natives of the country beheld the approach of Europeans with malignant hatred. No part of New England was more thickly covered with aboriginal inhabitants than Connecticut. The Pequods, who were settled round the Thames, could muster at least seven hundred warriors; the whole number of the effective men of the emigrants was much less than two hundred. The danger was incessant; and while the settlers, with hardly a plough or a yoke of oxen, turned the wild fertility of nature into productiveness, they were at the same time exposed to the incursions of a savage enemy, whose delight was carnage.

For the Pequods had already shown a hostile spirit. 1633
Several years had elapsed since they had murdered the crew of a small trading vessel in Connecticut River. With some appearance of justice they pleaded the necessity of self-defence, and sent messengers to Boston 1634 Nov
to desire the alliance of the white men. The govern-

CHAP. IX. ment of Massachusetts accepted the excuse, and immediately conferred the benefit which was due from civilization to the ignorant and passionate tribes; it reconciled the Pequods with their hereditary enemies, the Narragansetts. No longer at variance with a pow-
1636 July. erful neighbor, the Pequods again displayed their bitter and imboldened hostility to the English by murdering Oldham, near Block Island. The outrage was punished by a sanguinary but ineffectual expedition. The warlike tribe was not overawed, but rather courted the alliance of its neighbors, the Narragansetts and the Mohegans, that a union and a general rising of the natives might sweep the hated intruders from the ancient hunting-grounds of the Indian race. The design could be frustrated by none but Roger Williams; and the exile, who had been the first to communicate to the governor of Massachusetts the news of the impending conspiracy, encountered the extremity of peril with magnanimous heroism. Having received letters from Vane and the council of Massachusetts, requesting his utmost and speediest endeavors to prevent the league, neither storms of wind nor high seas could detain the adventurous envoy. Shipping himself alone in a poor canoe, every moment at the hazard of his life, he hastened to the house of the sachem of the Narragansetts. The Pequod ambassadors, reeking with blood, were already there; and for three days and nights the business compelled him to lodge and mix with them; having cause every night to expect their knives at his throat. The Narragansetts were wavering; but Roger Williams succeeded in dissolving the formidable conspiracy. It was the most intrepid and most successful achievement in the whole Pequod war—an action as perilous in its execution

as it was fortunate in its issue. When the Pequods were left to contend single-handed against the English, it was their ignorance only which could still inspire confidence in their courage. CHAP. IX. 1637

Continued injuries and murders roused Connecticut to action; and the court of its three infant towns decreed immediate war. May 1. Uncas, sachem of the Mohegans, was their ally. To John Mason the staff of command was delivered at Hartford by the venerated Hooker; and after nearly a whole night spent, at the request of the soldiers, in importunate prayer by the very learned and godly Stone, about sixty men, one 19. third of the whole colony, aided by John Underhill and twenty gallant recruits, whom the forethought of Vane had sent from the Bay State, sailed past the Thames, 20 and, designing to reach the Pequod fort unobserved, entered a harbor near Wickford, in the bay of the 21 Narragansetts. The next day was the Lord's, sacred to religion and rest. Early in the week, the captains 22. of the expedition, with the pomp of a military escort, repaired to the court of Canonicus, the patriarch and ruler of the tribe; and the younger and more fiery 23 Miantonomoh, surrounded by two hundred of his bravest warriors, received them in council. "Your design," said he, "is good; but your numbers are too weak to brave the Pequods, who have mighty chieftains, and are skilful in battle;" and after doubtful friendship, he deserted the desperate enterprise.

Nor did the unhappy clans on Mistic River distrust their strength. To their hundreds of brave men their bows and arrows still seemed formidable weapons; ignorant of European fortresses, they viewed their rushwork palisades with complacency; and as the English boats sailed by the places where the

CHAP. IX. rude works of the natives frowned defiance, it was rumored through the tribe, that its enemies had vanished
1637. through fear. Exultation followed; and hundreds of the Pequods spent much of the last night of their lives in revelry, at a time when the sentinels of the English
May 26. were within hearing of their songs. Two hours before day, the soldiers of Connecticut put themselves in motion towards the enemy; and, as the light of morning began to dawn, they made their attack on the principal fort, which stood in a strong position at the summit of a hill.[1] The colonists felt that they were fighting for the security of their homes; that, if defeated, the war-whoop would immediately resound near their cottages, and their wives and children be abandoned to the scalping-knife and the tomahawk. They ascend to the attack; a watch-dog bays an alarm at their approach; the Indians awake, rally, and resist, as well as bows and arrows can resist weapons of steel. The superiority of number was with them; and fighting closely, hand to hand, though the massacre spread from wigwam to wigwam, victory was tardy. "We must burn them!" shouted Mason, and cast a firebrand to the windward among the light mats of the Indian cabins. Hardly could the English withdraw to encompass the place, before the whole encampment was in a blaze. Did the helpless natives climb the palisades, the flames assisted the marksmen to take good aim at the unprotected men; did they attempt a sally, they were cut down by the English broadswords. The carnage was complete: about six hundred Indians, men, women, and children, perished; most of them in the hideous conflagration. In about

1 Compare E. R. Potter's Early History of Narragansett, 24. Williams, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 133.

an hour, the whole work of destruction was finished, and two only of the English had fallen in the battle. The sun, as it rose serenely in the east, was the witness of the victory.

1637

With the light of morning, three hundred or more Pequod warriors were descried, as they proudly approached from their second fort. They had anticipated success; what was their horror as they beheld the smoking ruins, strown with the half-consumed flesh of so many hundreds of their race! They stamped on the ground, and tore their hair; but it was in vain to attempt revenge; then and always, to the close of the war, the feeble manner of the natives hardly deserved, says Mason, the name of fighting; their defeat was certain, and unattended with much loss to the English. The aborigines were never formidable in battle, till they became supplied with the weapons of European invention.

A portion of the troops hastened homewards to protect the settlements from any sudden attack; while Mason, with about twenty men, marched across the country from the vicinity of New London to the English fort at Saybrook. He reached the river at sunset; but Gardner, who commanded the fort, observed his approach; and never did the heart of a Roman consul, returning in triumph, swell more than the pride of Mason and his friends, when they found themselves received as victors, and "nobly entertained with many great guns."

In a few days, the troops from Massachusetts arrived, attended by Wilson; for the ministers always shared every hardship and every danger. The remnants of the Pequods were pursued into their hiding-places; every wigwam was burned, every settlement was

CHAP. IX. 1637. broken up, every cornfield laid waste. Sassacus, their sachem, was murdered by the Mohawks, to whom he had fled for protection. The few that survived, about two hundred, surrendering in despair, were enslaved by the English, or incorporated among the Mohegans and the Narragansetts. There remained not a sannup nor squaw, not a warrior nor child, of the Pequod name. A nation had disappeared from the family of man.

1638. The vigor and courage displayed by the settlers on the Connecticut, in this first Indian war in New England, struck terror into the savages, and secured a long succession of years of peace. The infant was safe in its cradle, the laborer in the fields, the solitary traveller during the night-watches in the forest; the houses needed no bolts, the settlements no palisades. Under the benignant auspices of peace, the citizens of the western colony resolved to perfect its political 1639 Jan. 14. institutions, and to form a body politic by a voluntary association. The constitution which was thus framed was of unexampled liberality. The elective franchise belonged to all the members of the towns who had taken tne oath of allegiance to the commonwealth; the magistrates and legislature were chosen annually by ballot; and the representatives were apportioned among the towns according to population. More than two centuries have elapsed; the world has been made wiser by the most various experience; political institutions have become the theme on which the most powerful and cultivated minds have been employed; and so many constitutions have been framed or reformed, stifled or subverted, that memory may despair of a complete catalogue;—but the people of Connecticut have found no reason to deviate essentially from the frame of government established by their fathers. No jurisdiction of the English monarch was recognized;

the laws of honest justice were the basis of their commonwealth; and therefore its foundations were lasting. These humble emigrants invented an admirable system; for they were near to Nature, listened willingly to her voice, and easily copied her forms. No ancient usages, no hereditary differences of rank, no established interests, impeded the application of the principles of justice. Freedom springs spontaneously into life; the artificial distinctions of society require centuries to ripen. History has ever celebrated the heroes who have won laurels in scenes of carnage. Has it no place for the founders of states; the wise legislators, who struck the rock in the wilderness, so that the waters of liberty gushed forth in copious and perennial fountains? They who judge of men by their services to the human race, will never cease to honor the memory of Hooker and of Haynes.

CHAP IX.

In equal independence, a Puritan colony sprang up at New Haven, under the guidance of John Davenport as its pastor, and of the excellent Theophilus Eaton, who was annually elected its governor for twenty years, till his death. Its forms were austere, unmixed Calvinism; but the spirit of humanity had sheltered itself under the rough exterior. The colonists held their first gathering under a branching oak. It was a season of gloom. Spring had not yet revived the verdure of nature; under the leafless tree the little flock were taught by Davenport, that, like the Son of man, they were led into the wilderness to be tempted. After a day of fasting and prayer, they rested their first frame of government on a simple plantation covenant, that "all of them would be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." A title to lands was obtained by a treaty with the natives, whom they protected against the Mohawks. When, after more than a year,

1638

April 18.

CHAP. IX. the free planters of the colony desired a more perfect form of government, the followers of Him who was laid 1639. June 4. in a manger held their constituent assembly in a barn. There, by the influence of Davenport, it was solemnly resolved, that the Scriptures are the perfect rule of a commonwealth; that the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity, were the great end of civil order; and that church members only should be free burgesses. A committee of twelve was selected to choose seven men, qualified for the foundation work of organizing the government. Eaton, Davenport, and five others, were "the seven Pillars" for the Aug. 23. new House of Wisdom, in the wilderness. In August, 1639, the seven pillars assembled, possessing for the time absolute power. Having abrogated every previous executive trust, they admitted to the court all church members; the character of civil magistrates was next expounded "from the sacred oracles;" and the election followed. Then Davenport, in the words of Moses to Israel in the wilderness, gave a charge to the governor, to judge righteously; "the cause that is too hard for you,"—such was part of the minister's text,—"bring it unto me, and I will hear it." Annual elections were ordered; and God's word established as the only rule in public affairs. Thus New Haven made the Bible its statute-book, and the elect its freemen. As neighboring towns were planted, each was likewise a house of wisdom, resting on its seven pillars, and aspiring to be illumined by the Eternal Light. The colonists prepared for the second coming of Christ, which they confidently expected. Meantime their pleasant villages spread along the Sound, and on the opposite shore of 1640 to 1649. Long Island, and for years they nursed the hope of "speedily planting Delaware."

CHAPTER X.

THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND.

CHAP. X.

THE English government was not indifferent to the progress of the colonies of New England. The fate of the first emigrants had been watched by all parties with benevolent curiosity; nor was there any inducement to oppress the few sufferers, whom the hardships of their condition were so fast wasting away. The adventurers were encouraged by a proclamation,[1] which, with a view to their safety, prohibited the sale of fire-arms to the savages. 1630 Nov. 24.

The stern discipline exercised by the government at Salem, produced an early harvest of enemies: resentment long rankled in the minds of some, whom Endicott had perhaps too passionately punished; and when they returned to England, Mason and Gorges, the rivals of the Massachusetts company, willingly echoed their vindictive complaints. A petition even reached King Charles, complaining of distraction and disorder in the plantations; but the issue was unexpected. Massachusetts was ably defended by Saltonstall, Humphrey, and Cradock, its friends in England; and the committee of the privy council reported in favor of the adventurers, who were ordered to continue 1633 Jan. their undertakings cheerfully, for the king did not

[1] Hazard, i. 311, 312.

CHAP. X. design to impose on the people of Massachusetts the ceremonies which they had emigrated to avoid. The country, it was believed, would in time be very beneficial to England.[1]

1634. Revenge did not slumber,[2] because it had been once defeated; and the triumphant success of the Puritans in America disposed the leaders of the high-church party to listen to the clamors of the malignant. Proof was produced of marriages celebrated by civil magistrates, and of the system of colonial church discipline—proceedings which were wholly at variance with the laws of England. "The departure of so many of THE BEST," such "numbers of faithful and free-born Englishmen and good Christians,"—a more ill-boding sign to the nation than the portentous blaze of comets and the impressions in the air, at which astrologers are
1634. Feb. 21. dismayed,[3]—began to be regarded by the archbishops as an affair of state; and ships bound with passengers for New England were detained in the Thames by an order of the council. Burdett also in 1637 wrote from New England to Laud, that "the colonists aimed not at new discipline, but at sovereignty; that it was accounted treason in their general court to speak of appeals to the king;"[4] and the greatest apprehensions were raised by a requisition which commanded the letters patent of the company to be produced in England.[5] To this requisition the emigrants returned no reply.

Still more menacing was the appointment of an

1 Winthrop and Savage, i. 54—57, and 101—103. Prince, 430, 431. Hutch. Coll. 52—54. Hubbard, 150—154. Chalmers, 154, 155. Hazard, i. 234, 235.

2 Winthrop, ii. 190, 191; or Hazard, i. 242, 243. Hubbard, 428—430.

3 Milton pleads for the Puritans—Of Reformation, Book ii.

4 Hutchinson, i. 85. Hubbard, 354.

5 Winthrop, i. 135. 137. Hubbard, 153. Hazard, i. 341, 342.

arbitrary special commission for the colonies. The archbishop of Canterbury and those who were associated with him, received full power over the American plantations, to establish the government and dictate the laws; to regulate the church; to inflict even the heaviest punishments; and to revoke any charter which had been surreptitiously obtained, or which conceded liberties prejudicial to the royal prerogative[1]

CHAP. X. 1634 April 10.

The news of this commission soon reached Boston; and it was at the same time rumored that a general governor was on his way. The intelligence awakened the most lively interest in the whole colony, and led to the boldest measures. Poor as the new settlements were, six hundred pounds were raised towards fortifications; "the assistants and the deputies discovered their minds to one another," and the fortifications were hastened. All the ministers assembled at Boston; it marks the age, that their opinions were consulted; it marks the age still more, that they unanimously declared against the reception of a general governor. "We ought," said the fathers in Israel, "to defend our lawful possessions, if we are able; if not, to avoid and protract."[2]

Sept. 18. 1635. Jan. 19.

It is not strange that Laud and his associates should have esteemed the inhabitants of Massachusetts to be men of refractory humors; complaints resounded of sects and schisms; of parties consenting in nothing but hostility to the church of England; of designs to shake off the royal jurisdiction.[3] Restraints were, therefore, placed upon emigration; no one above the rank of a serving man, might remove to the colony

1634 Dec.

[1] Hazard, i. 344—347. Hubbard, 264—268. Hutchinson, i. App. No. iv. Winthrop, i. 143. Chalmers mistakes a year.

[2] Winthrop, i. 154.

[3] Gorges, c. xxvi.

CHAP. X. without the special leave of the commissioners; and persons of inferior order were required to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.[1]

Willingly as these acts were performed by religious bigotry, they were prompted by another cause. The
. 635. members of the Grand Council of Plymouth, long reduced to a state of inactivity, prevented by the spirit of the English merchants from oppressing the people, and having already made grants of all the lands from the Penobscot to Long Island, determined to resign their charter, which was no longer possessed of any value. Several of the company desired as individuals to become the proprietaries of extensive territories, even at the dishonor of invalidating all their grants as a corporation. The hope of acquiring principalities subverted the sense of justice. A meeting of the lords was duly convened, and the whole coast, from Acadia to beyond the Hudson, being divided into shares, was distributed, in part at least, by lots. Whole provinces gained an owner by the drawing of a lottery.[2]

Thus far all went smoothly; it was a more difficult matter to gain possession of the prizes; the independent and inflexible colony of Massachusetts formed too serious an obstacle. The grant for Massachusetts, it was argued, was surreptitiously obtained; the lands belonged to Robert Gorges by a prior deed; the intruders had "made themselves a free people." The
une. general patent for New England was surrendered to the king: to obtain of him a confirmation of their respective grants, and to invoke the whole force of English power against the charter of Massachusetts,

1 Hazard, i. 247—348.
2 Gorges, b. ii. c. ii. Hubbard, 226—229. Hazard, i. 383

were, at the same time, the objects of the members of the Plymouth company, distinctly avowed in their public acts.[1] CHAP. X.

Now was the season of greatest peril to the rising liberties of New England. The king and council already feared the consequences that might come from the unbridled spirits of the Americans; his dislike was notorious;[2] and at the Trinity term in the Court of King's Bench, a *quo warranto* was brought against the company of the Massachusetts Bay. At the ensuing Michaelmas, several of its members, who resided in England, made their appearance, and judgment was pronounced against them individually; the rest of the patentees stood outlawed, but no judgment was entered up against them.[3] The unexpected death of Mason, Dec.
who, as the proprietary of New Hampshire, had been the chief mover of all the aggressions on the rights of the adjoining colony, suspended the hostile movements,[4] which Gorges had too much honesty and too little intrigue to renew.[5]

The severe censures in the Star Chamber, the greatness of the fines which avarice rivaled bigotry in imposing, the rigorous proceedings with regard to ceremonies, the suspending and silencing of multitudes of ministers, still continued; and men were "enforced by heaps to desert their native country. Nothing but the wide ocean, and the savage deserts of America, could hide and shelter them from the fury of the bishops."[6] The pillory had become the bloody scene of human 1635 to 1637

1 Hazard, i. 382. 390—394.
2 Gorges, b. ii. c. i. p. 43.
3 Hazard, i. 423—425. Hutchinson's Coll. 101—104.
4 Winthrop, i. 187.
5 Winthrop, ii. 12. Hazard, i. 403.
6 Rushworth, ii. 410. Hazard, i. 420. Neal's Puritans. Nugent's Hampden. The words are from Milton, the Puritan poet; the greatest poet of our language.

CHAP. X. agony and mutilation, as an ordinary punishment; and the friends of Laud jested on the sufferings which were to cure the obduracy of fanatics. "The very genius of that nation of people," said Wentworth, "leads them always to oppose, both civilly and ecclesiastically, all that ever authority ordains for them." They were provoked to the indiscretion of a complaint, and then involved in a persecution. They were imprisoned and scourged; their noses were slit, their ears were cut off; their cheeks were marked with a red-hot brand. But the lash, and the shears, and the glowing iron, could not destroy principles which were rooted in the soul, and which danger made it glorious to profess. The injured party even learned to despise
1637. the mercy of their oppressors. Four years after Prynne had been punished for a publication, he was a second time arraigned for a like offence. "I thought," said Lord Finch, "that Prynne had lost his ears already; but," added he, looking at the prisoner, "there is something left yet;" and an officer of the court, removing the hair, displayed the mutilated organs. "I pray to God," replied Prynne, "you may have ears to
June 30. hear me." A crowd gathered round the scaffold, where he, and Bastwick, and Burton, were to suffer mutilation. "Christians," said Prynne, as he presented the stumps of his ears to be grubbed out by the hangman's knife, "stand fast; be faithful to God and your country; or you bring on yourselves and your children perpetual slavery." The dungeon, the pillory, and the scaffold, were but stages in the progress of civil liberty towards its triumph.

Yet there was a period when the ministry of Charles hoped for success. No considerable resistance was threatened within the limits of England; and not even

America could long be safe against the designs of despotism. A proclamation was issued to prevent the emigration of Puritans;[1] the king refused his dissenting subjects the security of the wilderness. CHAP X. 1637 April 30.

It was probably a foreboding of these dangers, which induced the legislation of Massachusetts to exaggerate the necessity of domestic union.[2] In England the proclamation was but little regarded. The Puritans, hemmed in by dangers on every side, and at that time having no prospect of ultimate success, desired at any rate to escape from their native country. The privy council interfered to stay a squadron of eight ships, which were in the Thames, preparing to embark for New England.[3] It has been said that Hampden and Cromwell were on board this fleet.[4] The English ministry of that day might willingly have exiled Hampden; no original authors, except royalists writing on hearsay, allude to the design imputed to him; in America there exists no evidence of his expected arrival; the remark of Hutchinson[5] refers to the well-known schemes of Lord Say and Seal and Lord Brooke; there are no circumstances in the lives of Hampden and Cromwell corroborating the story, but many to establish its improbability; there came over, during this summer, twenty ships, and at least three thousand persons;[6] and had Hampden designed to 1638 May 1.

1 Hazard, i. 421.

2 Colony Laws, edition of 1660, 73. iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 398.

3 Rushworth, ii. 409. Hazard, i. 422

4 Bates and Dugdale, in Neal's Puritans, ii. 349. C. Mather, b. i. c. v. s. 7. Neal's N. E. i. 168. Chalmers, 160, 161. Robertson, b. x. Hume, c. liii. Belknap, ii. 229. Grahame's U. S. i. 299. Lord Nugent, in his Hampden, i. 254, should not have repeated the error. Edinburgh Review, No. 108. Russel's Cromwell, i. 51. Godwin, in his History of the Commonwealth, i. 11, 12, reproves the conduct which he unjustly imputes to Hampden. The pretended design was indeed unlike Hampden.

5 Hutchinson, i. 44.

6 Winthrop, i. 268.

CHAP. X. 1638

emigrate, he whose maxim[1] in life forbade retreat, and whose resolution was as fixed as it was calm, possessed energy enough to have accomplished his purpose. He undoubtedly had watched with deep interest the progress of Massachusetts; "the Conclusions" had early attracted his attention;[2] and in 1631 he had taken part in a purchase of territory on the Narragansett.[3] It has been conjectured,[4] asserted,[5] and even circumstantially related,[6] that he passed a winter with the colony of New Plymouth. A person who bore the same or nearly the same name,[7] was undoubtedly there; but the greatest patriot-statesman of his times, the man whom Charles I. would gladly have seen drawn and quartered, whom Clarendon paints as possessing beyond all his contemporaries "a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute," and whom the fervent Baxter revered as able, by his presence and conversation, to give a new charm to the rest of the Saints in heaven, was never in America. Nor did he ever embark for America; the fleet in which he is said to have taken his passage, was delayed but a few days; on petition of the owners and passengers, King Charles removed the restraint;[8] the ships proceeded on their intended voyage; and the whole company, as it seems without diminution, arrived safely in the Bay of Massachusetts.[9] Had Hampden and Cromwell been of the party, they too would have reached New England.

1 Nulla vestigia retrorsum.
2 Nugent, i. 173, 174.
3 Potter's Narragansett, 14.—Comp. Trumbull.
4 Belknap's Biog. ii. 229.
5 N. Amer. Review, vi. 28.
6 Fr. Baylies, Memoir, i. 110, takes fire at the thought.
7 ii. Massachusetts Hist. Coll. viii. 258. More probably John Hamblin; a common name in the Old Colony.
8 Rushworth, ii. 409. Aikin's Charles I. i. 471—473.
9 Winthrop, i. 266, is decisive

A few weeks before this attempt to stay emigration, the lords of the council had written to Winthrop, recalling to mind the former proceedings by a quo warranto, and demanding the return of the patent. In case of refusal, it was added, the king would assume into his own hands the entire management of the plantation.[1] CHAP X. 1638 April 4.

But "David in exile could more safely expostulate with Saul for the vast space between them." The colonists, without desponding, demanded a trial before condemnation. They urged that the recall of the patent would be a manifest breach of faith, pregnant with evils to themselves and their neighbors; that it would strengthen the plantations of the French and the Dutch; that it would discourage all future attempts at colonial enterprise; and, finally, "if the patent be taken from us,"—such was their cautious but energetic remonstrance,—"the common people will conceive that his majesty hath cast them off, and that hereby they are freed from their allegiance and subjection, and therefore will be ready to confederate themselves under a new government, for their necessary safety and subsistence, which will be of dangerous example unto other plantations, and perilous to ourselves, of incurring his majesty's displeasure."[2] They therefore beg of the royal clemency the favor of neglect. Sept. 6

But before their supplication could find its way to the throne, the monarch was himself already involved in disasters. Anticipating success in his tyranny in England, he had resolved to practise no forbearance; with headlong indiscretion, he insisted on introducing

[1] Hubbard, 268, 269. Hazard, i. 432, 433. Hutchinson's Coll. 105, 106.

[2] Hubbard, 269—271. Hutch. i. App. No. v. Hazard, i. 434. 436

CHAP. X. a liturgy into Scotland, and compelling the uncompromising disciples of Knox to listen to prayers trans-
1637. lated from the Roman missal. The first attempt at
July 23. reading the new service in the cathedral of Edinburgh was the signal for that series of momentous events which promised to restore liberty to England, and give peace to the colonies. The movement began, as great revolutions almost always do, from the ranks of the people. "What, ye villain!" shouted the old women at the dean, as he read the liturgy, "will ye say mass in my lug?"—"A pape, a pape!" resounded the multitude, incensed against the bishop; "stane him, stane him!" The churchmen narrowly escaped martyrdom. The tumult spreads; the nobles of Scotland take advantage of the excitement of the people to advance
1638. their ambition. The national covenant is published, and is signed by the Scottish nation, almost without distinction of rank or sex; the defences of despotism are broken down; the flood washes away every vestige of ecclesiastical oppression. Scotland rises in arms for a holy war, and enlists religious enthusiasm under its banner in its contest against a despot, who has neither a regular treasury, nor an army, nor the confidence of his people. The wisest of his subjects esteem the
1639. insurgents as their friends and allies. There is now no time to oppress New England; the throne itself totters;—there is no need to forbid emigration; England is at once become the theatre of wonderful events, and many fiery spirits, who had fled for a refuge to the colonies, rush back to share in the open struggle for liberty. In the following years, few passengers came
1640 over; the reformation of church and state, the attain-
to 1642. der of Strafford, the impeachment of Laud, the great

enemy of Massachusetts, caused all men to stay in England in expectation of a new world.[1] CHAP X.

Yet a nation was already planted in New England; a commonwealth was matured; the contests in which the unfortunate Charles became engaged, and the republican revolution that followed, left the colonists, for the space of twenty years, nearly unmolested in the enjoyment of the benefits of virtual independence. The change which their industry had wrought in the wilderness, was the admiration of their times,—the wonder of the world.[2] Plenty prevailed throughout the settlements. The wigwams and hovels in which the English had at first found shelter, were replaced by well-built houses. The number of emigrants who had arrived in New England before the assembling of the Long Parliament, are esteemed to have been twenty-one thousand two hundred.[3] One[4] hundred and ninety-eight ships had borne them across the Atlantic; and the whole cost of the plantations had been almost a million of dollars,—a great expenditure and a great emigration for that age; yet in 1832 more than fifty thousand persons arrived at the single port of Quebec in one summer, bringing with them a capital exceeding three millions of dollars. In a little more than ten years, fifty towns and villages had been planted; between thirty and forty churches built; and strangers, as they gazed, could not but acknowledge

1 Winthrop, ii. 7. 31. 74.

2 Lechford, 47. Johnson, b. ii. c. xxi.

3 Johnson, b. i. c. xiv. Josselyn's N. E. 258. Dummer's Defence of N. E. Charters. Hutchinson, i. 91. Davis, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. xxiii. Neal's N. E. i. 213, and Douglass's Summary, i. 381, are in error. Mather, b. i. c. viii. s. 7.

4 I have no doubt, 198, and not 298. Compare Savage and Winthrop, ii. 331, and ii. 91, where there is another example of a mistake in printing from the Arabic numerals of Johnson. The accounts preserved of the arrivals in America will not admit the larger statement.

CHAP X. God's blessing on the endeavors of the planters.[1] Affluence was alrea ly beginning to follow in the train of industry. The natural exports of the country were furs and lumber; grain was carried to the West Indies; fish also was a staple. The business of ship-building, in which so great excellence has been attained, was early introduced. Vessels of four hundred tons were constructed before 1643. So long as the ports were filled with new comers, the domestic consumption had required nearly all the produce of the colony. But now, says Winthrop[2] (and, in the history of American industry,
1643. the fact is worth preserving), "our supplies from England failing much, men began to look about them, and fell to a manufacture of cotton, whereof we had store from Barbadoes." In view of the exigency, "the general court" had already "made order for the manufacture of woollen and linen cloth."[3]

1641 The Long Parliament contained among its members many sincere favorers of the Puritan plantations. Yet the English in America, with wise circumspection, did not for a moment forget the dangers of a foreign jurisdiction. "Upon the great liberty which the king had left the parliament in England, some of our friends there wrote to us advice to solicit for us in the parliament, giving us hope that we might obtain much. But consulting about it, we declined the motion for this consideration, that if we should put ourselves under the protection of the parliament, we must then be subject to all such laws as they should make, or, at least, such as they might impose upon us It might prove very prejudicial to us."[4] The love of political independence declined even benefits.

1 New England's First Fruits, in i. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 247.
2 Winthrop, ii. 119.
3 Hubbard, c. xxu
4 Winthrop, ii. 25. i Hist. Coll vi. 156.

When letters arrived, inviting the colonial churches to send their deputies to the Westminster assembly of divines, the same sagacity led them to neglect the invitation. Especially Hooker, of Hartford, whom historians have so often taunted with jealous ambition, and who was remarkable for avoiding notoriety, "liked not the business," and deemed it his duty rather to stay in quiet and obscurity with his people in Connecticut, than to turn propagandist, and plead for Independency in England.[1] CHAP. X. 1642

Yet such commercial advantages as might be obtained without a surrender of their chartered rights, were objects of desire. Hugh Peters and two others had been despatched as agents for the colonies; and their mission was favorably received. The house of commons publicly acknowledged, that "the plantations in New England had, by the blessing of the Almighty, had good and prosperous success, without any public charge to the parent state;" and their imports and exports were freed from all taxation, "until the house of commons should take order to the contrary."[2] The general court of Massachusetts received the ordinance hardly as a boon from a sovereign, but rather as a courtesy and a benefit from a friendly state, and while they entered it on their records as a memorial for posterity, they sought to requite the kindness by reciprocity of legislation. 1643 Mar. 10.

Still more important for New England were the benefits of a secure domestic legislation. Among the first fruits may be esteemed the general declaration of the principles of liberty,—the promulgation of a bill of rights.[3] Universal suffrage was not established; but 1641

1 Winthrop, ii. 76.
2 Hazard, i. 114. Winthrop, ii. 98. Hutchinson, i. 110. Chalmers, 174.
3 Laws of 1641, ed. of 1660, p. 1. 26, 27, 28, and 50. Winthrop, ii. 55.

CHAP X. 1641 every man, whether inhabitant or foreigner, freeman or not freeman, received the right of introducing any business into any public meeting, and of taking part in its deliberations.[1] The colony, moreover, offered a free welcome and aid, at the public cost, to Christians of every nation, who might fly beyond the Atlantic "to escape from wars or famine, or the tyranny and oppression of their persecutors."[2] The nation, by a special statute, made the fugitive and the persecuted the guests of the commonwealth. Its hospitality was as wide as misfortune.

The same liberality dictated the terms on which the jurisdiction of Massachusetts was extended over New Hampshire; and the strict interpretation of the charter offered an excuse for claiming the territory. Maryland suffered for almost twenty years the evils of a disputed jurisdiction, before its citizens asserted their claims to self-government: the people of New Hampshire, dreading the perils of anarchy, provided a remedy, by the April 14. immediate exercise of their natural rights, and, by their own voluntary act, they were annexed to their powerful neighbor; not as a province, but on equal terms, as an integral portion of the state. The change was effected with great deliberation. The banks of the Piscataqua had not been peopled by Puritans; and the system of Massachusetts could not properly be applied to the new 1642. Sept. 8. acquisitions. The general court adopted the measure which justice recommended; neither the freemen nor the deputies of New Hampshire were required to be church members. Thus political harmony was established, though the settlements long retained marks of the difference of their origin.[3]

1 Laws, ed. 1660, p. 50.
2 Laws, ed. 1660, p. 73.
3 Belknap, c. ii. Adams, p. 30 Hubbard, 371, 372. Compare Winthrop, ii. 28 and 93.

The attempt to gain possession of the territory on Narragansett Bay was less deserving of success. Massachusetts proceeded with the decision of an independent state. Samuel Gorton, a wild but benevolent enthusiast, who used to say, heaven was not a place, there was no heaven but in the hearts of good men, no hell but in the mind, had created disturbances in the district of Warwick. A minority of the inhabitants, wearied with harassing disputes, requested the interference of the magistrates of Massachusetts,[1] and two sachems, near Providence, surrendered the soil to the jurisdiction of that state.[2] Gorton and his partisans did not disguise their scorn for the colonial clergy; they were advocates for liberty of conscience, and, at the same time, having no hope of protection except from England, they were, by their position, enemies to colonial independence; they denied the authority of the magistrates of Massachusetts, not only on the soil of Warwick, but every where, inasmuch as it was tainted by a want of true allegiance. Such opinions, if carried into effect, would have destroyed the ecclesiastical system of Massachusetts, and subverted its liberties, and were therefore thought worthy of death; but the public opinion of the time, as expressed by a small majority of the deputies, was more merciful, and Gorton and his associates were imprisoned. It is the nature of a popular state to cherish peace: the people murmured at the severity of their rulers, and the imprisoned men were soon set at liberty; but the claim to the territory was not immediately abandoned.[3]

CHAP. X. 1642 ... 1641 ... 1643

1 iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 2—4. Winthrop, ii. 59. Hubbard, 406.

2 Winthrop, ii. 120—123.

3 On Gorton, see Eliot, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iv. 136. Winthrop, i. 91. 296, ii. 58, 59, and Eddy's note, 142—148. 156. 165, 166. 280. 295. 299. 317. 322. Colony Records, ii. Johnson, b. ii. c. xxiii. xxiv. Lechford, 41, 42. Gorton, in ii. Mass. Hist.

CHAP. X. 1643. The enlargement of the territory of Massachusetts was, in part, a result of the virtual independence which the commotions in the mother country had secured to the colonies. The establishment of a UNION among the Puritan states of New England, was a still more important measure.

1637. Immediately after the victories over the Pequods, at a time when the earliest synod had gathered in Boston the leading magistrates and elders of Connecticut, the design of a confederacy was proposed. Many of the American statesmen, familiar with the character of the government of Holland, possessed sufficient experience and knowledge to frame the necessary plan; but time was wanting; the agents of Plymouth could not be seasonably summoned, and the subject was deferred.
1638. The next year it came again into discussion; but Connecticut, offended "because some preëminence was yielded to Massachusetts," insisted on reserving to each state a negative on the proceedings of the confederacy. This reservation was refused; for, in that case, said Massachusetts, "all would have come to nothing."

1639. The vicinity of the Dutch, a powerful neighbor, whose claims Connecticut could not, single-handed, defeat, led the colonists of the west to renew the negotiation; and with such success, that, within a few
1643 years, THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND were "made all as one."[1] Protection against the encroach-

Coll. viii. 68—70. Morton, 202—206. Gorton, in Hutchinson, i. App. xx. Hubbard, 343, 344. 401—407. and 500—512. Hazard, i. 546—553. C. Mather, b. vii. c. ii. s. 12. Callender, 35, 38. Hopkins, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 199—201. Hutchinson, i. 114—118. Hutchinson's Coll. 237—239. and 405. 415. Backus, i. 118 and ff. Eliot, in i. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 35—38. Knowles, 182—189. Savage on Winthrop, ii. 147—149. Baylies, N. P. i. c. xii. Best of all is Gorton's own account, with the accurate commentary of Staples.

[1] Winthrop, i. 237. 284. 299; ii 350. 266. Hubbard, 466. Johnson b. ii. c. xxiii

ments of the Dutch and the French; security against CHAP. X. the tribes of savages; the liberties of the gospel in purity and in peace,—these were the motives to the 1643 confederacy, which did, itself, continue nearly half a century, and which, even after it was cut down, left a hope that a new and a better union would spring from its root.

Neither was the measure accomplished without a progress in political science. If the delegates from three of the states were empowered to frame and definitively conclude a union, the colony of Plymouth now set the example of requiring that the act of their constituent representatives should have no force till confirmed by a majority of the people.

The union embraced the separate governments of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven; but to each its respective local jurisdiction was carefully reserved. The question of State Rights is nearly two hundred years old. The affairs of the confederacy were intrusted to commissioners, consisting of two from each colony. Church membership was the only qualification required for the office. The commissioners, who were to assemble annually, or oftener if exigencies demanded, might deliberate on all things which are "the proper concomitants or consequents of a confederation." The affairs of peace and war, and especially Indian affairs, exclusively belonged to them; they were authorized to make internal improvements at the common charge; they, too, were the guardians to see equal and speedy justice assured to all the confederates in every jurisdiction. The common expenses were to be assessed according to population.

Thus remarkable for unmixed simplicity was the

CHAP. X. 1643. form of the first confederated government[1] in America It was a directory, apparently without any check. There was no president, except as a moderator of its meetings; and the larger state, Massachusetts, superior to all the rest in territory, wealth, and population, had no greater number of votes than New Haven. But the commissioners were, in reality, little more than a deliberative body: they possessed no executive power, and, while they could decree a war and a levy of troops, it remained for the states to carry their votes into effect.

Provision was made for the reception of new members into the league; but the provision was wholly without results. The people beyond the Piscataqua were not admitted, because "they ran a different course" from the Puritans, "both in their ministry and in their civil administration." The plantations of Providence also desired in vain to participate in the benefits of the union;[2] and the request of the island of Rhode Island was equally rejected, because it would not consent to form a part of the jurisdiction of Plymouth.[3] Yet this early confederacy survived the jealousies of the Long Parliament, met with favor from the protector, and remained safe from censure on the restoration of the Stuarts.

Its chief office was the security of the settlements against the natives, whose power was growing more formidable in proportion as they became acquainted with the arts of civilized life. But they were, at the same time, weakened by dissensions among themselves. Now that the Pequod nation was extinct, the more

1 On the Confederacy—the Records, in Hazard, v. ii. Winthrop, ii. 101—106. Morton, 229. Hubbard, c. lii.

2 Mass. MS. State Papers, Case i. File i. No. 17.

3 Hazard, ii. 99, 100.

quiet Narragansetts could hardly remain at peace with the less numerous Mohegans. Anger and revenge brooded in the mind of Miantonomoh. He hated the Mohegans, for they were the allies of the English, by whom he had been arraigned as a criminal. He had suffered indignities at Boston, alike wounding to his pride as a chieftain and his honor as a man. His savage wrath was kindled against Uncas, his accuser, whom he detested as doubly his enemy,—once as the sachem of a hostile tribe, and again as a traitor to the whole Indian race, the cringing sycophant of the white men. Gathering his men suddenly together, in defiance of a treaty to which the English were parties,[1] Miantonomoh, accompanied by a thousand warriors, fell upon the Mohegans. But his movements were as rash as his spirit was impetuous: he was defeated and taken prisoner by those whom he had doomed as a certain prey to his vengeance. By the laws of Indian warfare the fate of the captive was death. Yet Gorton and his friends, who held their lands by a grant from Miantonomoh, interceded for their benefactor. The unhappy chief was conducted to Hartford; and the wavering Uncas, who had the strongest claims to the gratitude and protection of the English,[2] asked the advice of the commissioners of the United Colonies. Murder had ever been severely punished by the Puritans: they had, at Plymouth, with the advice of Massachusetts, executed three of their own men for taking the life of one Indian: and the elders, to whom the case of Miantonomoh was referred, finding that he had, deliberately and in time of quiet, murdered a servant in the service of the Mohegan chief; that he had fomented

CHAP. X. 1643

1 Hubbard's Indian Wars, 42.

2 ii. Mass. H. C. viii. 137. 141.

CHAP. X. 1643. discontents against the English; and that, in contempt of a league, he had plunged into a useless and bloody war,—could not perceive in his career any claims to mercy. He seemed to merit death; yet not at the hands of the settlers. Uncas received his captive, and, conveying the helpless victim beyond the limits of the jurisdiction of Connecticut, put him to death.[1] So perished Miantonomoh, the friend of the exiles from Massachusetts, the faithful benefactor of the fathers of Rhode Island.

The tribe of Miantonomoh burned to avenge the execution of their chief; but they feared a conflict with the English, whose alliance they vainly solicited, and who persevered in protecting the Mohegans. The Narragansetts were at last compelled to submit in sullenness to a peace, of which the terms were alike hateful to their independence, their prosperity, and their love of revenge.[2]

While the commissioners, thus unreservedly and without appeal, controlled the relation of the native tribes, the spirit of independence was still further displayed by a direct negotiation and a solemn treaty of peace with the governor of Acadia.[3]

Content with the security which the confederacy afforded, the people of Connecticut desired no guaranty for their independence from the government of
1644 England; taking care only, by a regular purchase, to
1646. obtain a title to the soil from the assigns of the earl

[1] Records, in Hazard, ii. 7—13. I. Mather's Ind. Troubles, 56, 57. Morton, 234. Winthrop, ii. 130. 134. Hubbard's Indian Wars, 42—45. Johnson, b. ii. c. xxiii. Trumbull, i. 129—135. Drake, b. ii. 67. Relation in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 161 and ff. Gorton, in Staples's edition, 154 and ff. See the opinions and arguments of Hopkins, and Savage, and Staples, of Davis and Holmes.

[2] Hazard, ii. 40—50. Winthrop, ii. 198. 246. 380.

[3] Winthrop, ii. 197. Hazard, i. 536 and 537, and ii. 50. 54.

of Warwick.[1] The people of Rhode Island, excluded from the colonial union, would never have maintained their existence as a separate state, had they not sought the interference and protection of the mother country; and the founder of the colony was chosen to conduct the important mission.

CHAP. X.

1643

Embarking at Manhattan, he arrived in England not long after the death of Hampden. The parliament had placed the affairs of the American colonies under the control of Warwick, as governor-in-chief, assisted by a council of five peers and twelve commoners.[2] Among these commoners was Henry Vane, a man who was ever as true in his affections as in his principles, and who now welcomed the American envoy as an ancient friend. The favor of parliament was won by the incomparable "printed Indian labors of Roger Williams,[3] the like whereof was not extant from any part of America;" and his merits as a missionary induced "both houses of parliament to grant unto him, and friends with him, a free and absolute charter[4] of civil government for those parts of his abode."[5] Thus were the places of refuge for "soul-liberty," on the Narragansett Bay, incorporated "with full power and authority to rule themselves." To the Long Parliament, and especially to Sir Henry Vane, Rhode Island owes its existence as a political state.

1644 Mar. 14.

A double triumph awaited Williams on his return to New England. He arrived at Boston, and letters from the parliament insured him a safe reception from those who had decreed his banishment. But what honors

1 Trumbull, i. App. v. and vi.
2 Hazard, i. 533. 535.
3 Rhode Island Hist. Coll. i.
4 ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 185.
5 Winthrop, ii. 193. Knowles, 200. See also Callender and Backus,—both very good authorities, because both followed original documents.

CHAP. X. prepared for the happy negotiator, on his return to the province which he had founded! As he reached Seekonk, he found the water covered with a fleet of canoes; all Providence had come forth to welcome the return of its benefactor. Receiving their successful ambassador, the group of boats started for the opposite shore; and, as they paddled across the stream, Roger Williams, placed in the centre of his grateful fellow-citizens, and glowing with the purest joy, "was elevated and transported out of himself."[1]

And now came the experiment of the efficacy of popular sovereignty. The value of a moral principle may be tried on a small community as well as a large one; the experiment on magnetism, made with a child's toy, gives as sure a result as when the agency of that subtle power is watched in its influence on the globe. There were already several towns in the new state, filled with the strangest and most incongruous elements,—Anabaptists and Antinomians, fanatics (as its enemies asserted) and infidels, so that, if a man had lost his religious opinions, he might have been sure to find them again in some village of Rhode Island. All men were equal; all might meet and debate in the public assemblies; all might aspire to office; the people, for a season, constituted itself its own tribune, and every public law required confirmation in the primary assemblies. And so it came to pass, that the little "democracie," which, at the beat of the drum or the voice of the herald, used to assemble beneath an oak or by the open sea-side, was famous for its "headiness and tumults," its stormy town-meetings, and the angry feuds of its herdsmen

1 Knowles, 202. The work of Knowles is of high value.

and shepherds. But, true as the needle to the pole, CHAP X.
the popular will instinctively pursued the popular interest. Amidst the jarring quarrels of rival statesmen in the plantations, good men were chosen to administer the government; and the spirit of mercy, of liberality and wisdom, was impressed on its legislation.[1] "Our 1647 May 19.
popularitie," say their records, "shall not, as some conjecture it will, prove an anarchie, and so a common tirannie; for we are exceeding desirous to preserve every man safe in his person, name, and estate."[2]

Yet danger still menaced. The executive council of state in England had granted to Coddington a 1651 April 3.
commission for governing the islands; and such a dismemberment of the territory of the narrow state must have terminated in the division of the remaining soil between the adjacent governments. Williams was again compelled to return to England; and, with Nov.
John Clarke, his colleague in the mission, was again successful. The dangerous commission was vacated, 1652 Oct. 2.
and the charter and union of what now forms the state of Rhode Island confirmed. The general assembly, in its gratitude, desired that Williams might himself obtain from the sovereign authority in England an appointment as governor, for a year, over the whole colony. But if gratitude blinded the province, ambition did not blind its benevolent author. Williams refused to sanction a measure which would have furnished a dangerous precedent, and was content with the honor of doing good. His entire success with the executive council was due to the powerful intercession of Sir Henry Vane. "Under God, the sheet-anchor of Rhode Island was Sir Henry."[3] But for him,

[1] ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. vii. 78, &c.
[2] MS. Records of R. I. for 1647. [3] Backus, i. 256.

CHAP. X. 1654. Aug. 27. Rhode Island would perhaps have been divided among its neighbors. "From the first beginning of the Providence colony,"—thus did the town-meeting address Sir Henry Vane,—"you have been a noble and true friend to an outcast and despised people; we have ever reaped the sweet fruits of your constant loving-kindness and favor. We have long been free from the iron yoke of wolvish bishops; we have sitten dry from the streams of blood spilt by the wars in our native country. We have not felt the new chains of the Presbyterian tyrants, nor, in this colony, have we been consumed by the over-zealous fire of the (so called) godly Christian magistrates. We have not known what an excise means; we have almost forgotten what tithes are. We have long drunk of the cup of as great liberties as any people, that we can hear of, under the whole heaven. When we are gone, our posterity and children after us shall read, in our town-records, your loving-kindness to us, and our real endeavor after peace and righteousness."

Far different were the early destinies of the Prov-
1640 June 25. ince of Maine. A general court was held at Saco, under the auspices of the Lord Proprietary, who had drawn upon paper a stately scheme of government, with deputies and counsellors, a marshal and a treasurer of the public revenue, chancellors, and a master of the ordnance, and every thing that the worthy old
1642. Mar. 1. man deemed essential to his greatness. Sir Ferdinand had "travailed in the cause above forty years," and expended above twenty thousand pounds; yet all the regalia which Thomas Gorges, his trusty and well-beloved cousin and deputy, could find in the principality, were not enough for the scanty furniture of a cottage. Agamenticus, though in truth but "a poor

village,"[1] soon became a chartered borough; like another Romulus, the veteran soldier resolved to perpetuate his name, and, under the name of Gorgeana, the land round York became as good a city as seals and parchment, a nominal mayor and aldermen, a chancery court and a court-leet, sergeants and white rods, can make of a town of less than three hundred inhabitants and its petty officers. Yet the nature of Gorges was generous, and his piety sincere. He sought pleasure in doing good; fame, by advancing Christianity among the heathen; a durable monument, by erecting houses, villages, and towns. The contemporary and friend of Raleigh, he adhered to schemes in America for almost half a century; and, long after he became convinced of their unproductiveness, was still bent on plans of colonization, at an age when other men are but preparing to die with decorum. Firmly attached to the monarchy, he never disobeyed his king, except that, as a churchman and a Protestant, he refused to serve against the Huguenots. When the wars in England broke out, the septuagenarian royalist buckled on his armor, and gave the last strength of his gray hairs to the defence of the unfortunate Charles.[2] In America, his fortunes had met with a succession of untoward events. The patent for Lygonia had been purchased by Rigby, a republican member of the Long Parliament, and a dispute ensued between the deputies of the respective proprietaries. In vain did Cleaves, the agent of Rigby, solicit the assistance of Massachusetts; the colony warily refused to take part in the strife. It marks the confidence of all men in the justice of the Puritans,

CHAP X. 1642 Mar. 1.

1643 April 7

1644

[1] Winthrop, ii. 100.

[2] Hutch Coll. 386, 387.

CHAP. X. that both aspirants now appealed to the Bay magistrates, and solicited them to act as umpires. The
1645. June 3. cause was learnedly argued in Boston, and the decree of the court was oracular. Neither party was allowed to have a clear right; and both were enjoined to live in peace. But how could Vines and Cleaves assert their authority? On the death of Gorges, the people repeatedly wrote to his heirs. No answer was re-
1647-8 ceived; and such commissioners as had authority from Europe gradually withdrew. There was no relief for the colonists but in themselves; and the inhabitants
1649. July of Piscataqua, Gorgeana, and Wells, following the American precedent, with free and unanimous consent[1] formed themselves into a body politic for the purposes of self-government. Massachusetts readily offered its
1652 May 30. protection. The great charter of the Bay company was unrolled before the general court in Boston, and, "upon perusal of the instrument, it was voted, that this jurisdiction extends from the northernmost part of the River Merrimack, and three miles more, north, be it one hundred miles, more or lesse, from the sea; and then upon a straight line east and west to each sea."[2] The words were precise. Nothing remained but to find the latitude of a point three miles to the north of the remotest waters of the Merrimack, and to claim all the territory of Maine which lies south of that parallel; for the grant to Massachusetts was prior to the patents under which Rigby and the heirs of Gorges had been disputing. Nor did the "engrasping" Massachusetts make an idle boast of the territorial extent of its chartered rights. Commissioners were promptly despatched to the eastward to settle the government.

1 1. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 103.
2 Mass. State Papers, Case i. File vii. Nos. 4. 20. 58; viii. Nos. 17. 44, 45, 46, 47; x. No. 88.

CHAP. X.

1652-3

The firm remonstrances of Edward Godfrey, then governor of the province, a loyal friend to the English monarchy and the English church, were disregarded; and one town after another, yielding in part to menaces and armed force, gave in its adhesion. Great care was observed to guard the rights of property; every man was confirmed in his possessions; the religious liberty of the Episcopalians was left unharmed; the privileges of citizenship were extended to all inhabitants; and the whole eastern country gradually, yet reluctantly, submitted to the necessity of the change. When the claims of the proprietaries in England were urged before Cromwell, many inhabitants of the towns of York, Kittery, Wells, Saco, and 1656
Cape Porpoise, yet not a majority, remonstrated on the ground of former experience. To sever them from Massachusetts would be to them "the subverting of all civil order."[1]

Thus did Massachusetts, following the most favorable interpretation of its charter, extend its frontier to the islands in Casco Bay. It was equally successful in maintaining its independence of the Long Parliament; though the circumstances of the contest were fatal to the immediate assertion of the liberty of conscience.

With the increase of English freedom, the dangers 1644
which had menaced Massachusetts appeared to pass away; its government began to adventure on a more lenient policy; the sentence of exile against Wheelwright was rescinded; a proposition was made to extend the franchises of the company to those who were not church members, provided "a civil agree-

1 Documents in Maine Hist. Coll. 296. 299. MS. Letter of Geo. Folsom.

CHAP. X. ment among all the English could be formed" for asserting the common liberty. For this purpose letters
1644. were written to the confederated states; but the want of concert defeated the plan. The law which, nearly at the same time, threatened obstinate Anabaptists with exile, was not designed to be enforced. "Anabaptism," says Jeremy Taylor in his famous argument for liberty, "is as much to be rooted out as any thing that is the greatest pest and nuisance to the public interest." The fathers of Massachusetts reasoned more mildly. The dangers apprehended from some wild and turbulent spirits, "whose conscience and religion seemed only to sett forth themselves and raise contentions in the country, did provoke us"—such was their language at the time—"to provide for our safety by a law, that all such should take notice how unwelcome they should be unto us, either comeing or staying. But for such
1646. as differ from us only in judgment, and live peaceably amongst us, such have no cause to complain; for it hath never beene as yet putt in execution against any of them, although such are known to live amongst us."[1] Even two of the presidents of Harvard college were Anabaptists.

While dissenters were thus treated with an equivocal toleration, no concessions were made towards the government in England. It was the creed of even the most loyal deputy, that "if the king, or any party from him, should attempt any thing against this commonwealth," it was the common duty "to spend estate, and life, and all, without scruple, in its defence;" that "if the parliament itself should hereafter be of a malignant spirit, then, if the colony have strength sufficient,

1 Hutchinson's Coll. 216.

it may withstand any authority from thence to its hurt."[1] Massachusetts called itself "a perfect republic."[2] Nor was the expression a vain boast. The commonwealth, by force of arms, preserved in its harbors a neutrality between the ships of the opposing English factions; and the law which placed death as the penalty on any "attempt at the alteration of the frame of polity fundamentally,"[3] was well understood to be aimed at those who should assert the absolute supremacy of the English parliament. The establishment of a mint, in 1652, was a further exercise of sovereignty.

CHAP. X. 1644

Whilst the public mind was agitated with discussions on liberty of conscience and independence of English jurisdiction, the community, in this infancy of popular government, was disturbed with a third "great question about the authority of the magistrates and the liberty of the people."[4]

A democratic party had for many years been acquiring a control of public opinion. The oldest dispute 1632
in the colony related to the grounds and limits of the authority of the governor. In Boston, on occasion of 1634
dividing the town lands, "men of the inferior sort were chosen." Eliot, the apostle of the Indians, maintained that treaties should not be made without consulting the commons. The doctrine of rotation in office was 1639
asserted, even to the neglect of Winthrop, "lest there should be a governor for life." When one of the elders proposed that the place of governor should be held for life, the deputies immediately resolved that no magistrate of any kind should be elected for more than a 1639 to 1644
year. The magistrates once, assembling in a sort of

1 Winthrop, ii. 176. 183.
2 Respublica perfecta.
3 Colony Laws.
4 Winthrop, ii. 228.

CHAP. X. aristocratic caucus, nominated several persons for office, and the people took care to reject every one of the candidates thus proposed. On the other hand, when one of the ministers attempted to dissuade the people from choosing the same officers twice in succession, they disliked the interference of the adviser more than they loved the doctrine of frequent change, and reëlected the old magistrates almost without exception. The condition of a new colony which discarded the legislation of the mother country, necessarily left many things to the opinions of the executive. The people were loud in demanding a government of law, and not of discretion. No sooner had the benevolent Winthrop pleaded against the establishment of an exact penalty for every offence,—because justice, not less than mercy, imposed the duty of regulating the punishment by the circumstances of the case,—than the cry of arbitrary power was raised; and the people refused the hope of clemency, when it was to be obtained from the accidental compassion and the capricious judgments of a magistrate. The authority exercised by the assistants during the intervals between the sessions, became a subject of
1644. apprehension. The popular party, having a majority of the deputies, proposed to substitute a joint commission. The proposition being declined as inconsistent with the patent, they then desired to reserve the question for further deliberation. When to this it was answered, that, in the mean time, the assistants would act according to the power and trust which they claimed by the charter, the deputies immediately rejoined, by their speaker, Hawthorne, "You will not be obeyed." The same spirit occasioned the strenuous, though unsuccessful efforts to deprive the magistrates of their negative on the doings of the house. The negative

power was feared as a bulwark of authority, a limitation of the power of the popular will.[1] CHAP X.

1645 Such had been the progress of public opinion, when the popular party felt a consciousness of so great strength, as to desire a struggle with its opponents. The opportunity could not long be wanting. The executive magistrates, accustomed to tutelary vigilance over the welfare of the towns, had set aside a military election in Hingham. There had been, perhaps, in the proceedings, sufficient irregularity to warrant the interference. The affair came before the general court. "Two of the magistrates and a small majority of the deputies were of opinion that the magistrates exercised too much power, and that the people's liberty was thereby in danger; while nearly half the deputies, and all the rest of the magistrates, judged that authority was overmuch slighted, which, if not remedied, would endanger the commonwealth, and introduce a mere democracy." The two branches being thus at variance, a reference to the arbitration of the elders was proposed. But "to this the deputies would by no means consent; for they knew that many of the elders were more careful to uphold the honor and power of the magistrates, than themselves well liked of." The angry conferences of a long session followed. But the magistrates, sustained by the ministers, excelled the popular party in firmness and in self-possession. The latter lost ground by joining issue on a question where its own interest eventually required its defeat.

For the root of the disturbance at Hingham existed in "a presbyterial spirit," which opposed the government of the colonial commonwealth. Some of those

1 Winthrop, i 82, 83. 151, 152. 299, 300, 301, 302 · ii. 167. 169. 172. 204. 210. 307. 343.

CHAP. X. 1645. who pleaded the laws of England against the charter and the administration in Massachusetts, had been committed by Winthrop for contempt of the established authority. It was now proposed to procure their release by his impeachment. Hitherto the enemies of the state had united with the popular party, and both had assailed the charter as the basis of magisterial power,—the former with the view of invoking the interposition of England, the latter in the hope of increasing popular liberty. But the citizens could not be induced, even in the excitement of political divisions, to wrong the purest of their leaders, and the factious elements were rendered harmless by decomposition. Winthrop appeared at the bar only to triumph in his integrity. "Civil liberty," said the noble-minded man, in 'a little speech' on the occasion, "is the proper end and object of authority, and cannot subsist without it. It is a liberty to that only which is good, just, and honest. This liberty you are to stand for with the hazard not only of your goods, but, if need be, of your lives. Whatsoever crosseth this is not authority, but a distemper thereof."

It now became possible to adjust the long-continued difference by a compromise. The power of the magistrates over the militia was diminished by law;[1] but though the magistrates themselves were by some declared to be but public servants, holding "a ministerial office," and though it became a favorite idea that all authority resides essentially with the people in their body representative, yet the Hingham disturbers were punished by heavy fines, while Winthrop and his friends retained (what they deserved) the affectionate

1 Winthrop, ii. 246.

confidence of the colony. The opposition of Bellingham was due to his jealousy of Winthrop and Dudley, the chief officers of the state, whom he would willingly have supplanted. CHAP. X.

The court of Massachusetts was ready to concede the enjoyment of religious worship under the Presbyterian forms;[1] yet its enemies, defeated in their hope of a union with the popular party, were resolutely discontented, and now determined to rally on the question of liberty of conscience. The attempt was artful, for the doctrine had been rapidly making progress. Many books had come from England in defence of toleration. Many of the court were well inclined to suspend the laws against Anabaptists, and the order subjecting strangers to the supervision of the magistrates; and Winthrop thought that "the rule of hospitality required more moderation and indulgence." In Boston a powerful liberal party already openly existed. But now the apparent purpose of advancing religious freedom was made to disguise measures of the deadliest hostility to the frame of civil government. The nationality of New England was in danger. The existence of Poland was sacrificed, in the last century, by means of the Polish Dissidents, who, appealing to the Russian cabinet to interfere in behalf of liberty of conscience, opened the doors of their country to the enemy of its independence. The Roman Catholic bigots were there the impassioned guardians of Polish nationality. The Calvinists of New England were of a cooler temperament; but with equal inflexibility they anchored their liberties on unmixed Puritanism. "To eat out the power of godliness," became an 1645

[1] Winslow, 28.

CHAP. X. expression nearly synonymous with an attempt to acknowledge the direct supremacy of parliament William Vassal, of Scituate, was the chief of the "busy and factious spirits, always opposite to the civil governments of the country and the way of its churches;" and, at the same time, through his brother a member of the Long Parliament and of the commission for the colonies, he possessed influence in England. The movement began in Plymouth, by a proposition "for a full and free tolerance of religion to all men, without exception against Turk, Jew, Papist, Arian, Socinian, Familist, or any other." The deputies, not perceiving any political purpose, were ready to adopt the motion. "You would have admired," wrote Winslow to Winthrop, "to have seen how sweet this carrion relished to the palate of most of them."[1] The plan was defeated by delay; and Massachusetts became the theatre of action.

The new party desired to subvert the charter government, and introduce a general governor from England. They endeavored to acquire strength by rallying all the materials of opposition. The friends of Presbyterianism were soothed by hopes of a triumph; the democratic party was assured that the government should be more popular; while the penurious were provoked by complaints of unwise expenditures and intolerable taxations.[2] But the people refused to be deceived; and when a petition for redress of grievances was presented to the general court, it was evidently designed for English ears. It had with difficulty obtained the signatures of seven men, and of these, some were sojourners in the colony, who

1 Hutch. Coll. 154

2 Johnson, ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 6.

desired only an excuse for appealing to England. The document was written in a spirit of wanton insult.[1] It introduced every topic that had been made the theme of party discussion, and asserted (what Lord Holt and Lord Treby would have confirmed, but what the colonists were not willing to concede) that there existed in the country no settled form of government according to the laws of England. An entire revolution was demanded; "if not," add the remonstrants, "we shall be necessitated to apply our humble desires to both houses of parliament;" and there was reason to fear that they would obtain a favorable hearing before the body whose authority they labored to enlarge.

For Gorton had carried his complaints to the mother country, and, though unaided by personal influence or by powerful friends, had succeeded in all his wishes. At this very juncture, an order respecting his claims arrived in Boston, and was couched in terms which involved an assertion of the right of parliament to reverse the decisions and control the government of Massachusetts. The danger was imminent. It struck at the very life and foundation of the rising commonwealth. Had the Long Parliament succeeded in revoking the patent of Massachusetts, the Stuarts, on their restoration, would have found not one chartered government in the colonies, and the tenor of American history would have been changed. The people rallied with great unanimity in support of their magistrates. A law had been drawn up, and was ready to pass, conferring on all residents equal power in town affairs, and enlarging the constituency of the state. It was deemed safe to defer the important enactment till the present contro- 1646

[1] Compare Hutch. Coll. 189, 212, 213.

CHAP. X. 1646. versy should be settled; the order against Anabaptists was likewise left unrepealed; and, notwithstanding strong opposition from the friends of toleration in Boston, it was resolved to convene a synod to give counsel on the permanent settlement of the ecclesiastical polity.

Nov. 4. At length the general court assembled for the discussion of the usurpations of parliament, and the dangers from domestic treachery. The elders did not fail to attend in the gloomy season. One faithless deputy was desired to withdraw; and then, with closed doors (that the consultation might remain in the breast of the court), the nature of the relation with England was made the subject of debate. After much deliberation, it was agreed that Massachusetts owed to England the same allegiance as the free Hanse Towns had rendered to the empire; as Normandy, when its dukes were kings of England, had paid to the monarchs of France. It was also resolved not to accept a new charter from the parliament, for that would imply a surrender of the old. Besides, parliament granted none, but by way of ordinance, which the king might one day refuse to confirm, and always made for itself an express reservation of "a supreme power in all things." The elders, after a day's consultation, confirmed the decisions. "If parliament should be less inclinable to us, we must wait upon Providence for the preservation of our just liberties."

The colony then proceeded to exercise the independence which it claimed. The general court replied to the petition in a state-paper, written with great moderation; and the disturbers of the public security were summoned into its presence. Robert Childe and his companions appealed to the commissioners in

England. The appeal was not admitted. "The charter," he urged, "does but create a corporation within the realm, subject to English laws."—"Plantations," replied the court, "are above the rank of an ordinary corporation; they have been esteemed other than towns, yea, than many cities. Colonies are the foundations of great commonwealths. It is the fruit of pride and folly to despise the day of small things." CHAP X. 1646

To the parliament of England the legislature remonstrated with the noblest frankness against any assertion of the paramount authority of that body.

"An order from England," say they, "is prejudicial to our chartered liberties, and to our well-being in this remote part of the world. Times may be changed; for all things here below are subject to vanity, and other princes or parliaments may arise. Let not succeeding generations have cause to lament and say, England sent our fathers forth with happy liberties, which they enjoyed many years, notwithstanding all the enmity and opposition of the prelacy, and other potent adversaries, and yet these liberties were lost in the season when England itself recovered its own. We rode out the dangers of the sea; shall we perish in port? We have not admitted appeals to your authority, being assured they cannot stand with the liberty and power granted us by our charter, and would be destructive to all government. These considerations are not new to the high court of parliament; the records whereof bear witness of the wisdom and faithfulness of our ancestors in that great council, who, in those times of darkness, when they acknowledged a supremacy in the Roman bishops, in all causes ecclesiastical, yet would not allow appeals to Rome. Dec.

"The wisdom and experience of that great counc

CHAP. X. 1646. the English parliament, are more able to prescribe rules of government and judge causes, than such poor rustics as a wilderness can breed up; yet the vast distance between England and these parts abates the virtue of the strongest influences. Your councils and judgments can neither be so well grounded, nor so seasonably applied, as might either be useful to us, or safe for yourselves, in your discharge, in the great day of account. If any miscarriage shall befall us, when we have the government in our own hands, the state of England shall not answer for it.

"Continue your favorable aspect to these infant plantations, that we may still rejoice and bless our God under your shadow, and be there still nourished with the warmth and dews of heaven. Confirm our liberties; discountenance our enemies, the disturbers of our peace under pretence of our injustice. A gracious testimony of your wonted favor will oblige us and our posterity."

In the same spirit, Edward Winslow, the agent for Massachusetts in England, publicly denied that the jurisdiction of parliament extended to America. "If the parliament of England should impose laws upon us, having no burgesses in the house of commons, nor capable of a summons by reason of the vast distance, we should lose the liberties and freedom of English indeed."[1] Massachusetts was not without steadfast friends in the legislature of England; yet it marks an honest love of liberty and of justice in the Long Parliament, that the doctrines of colonial equality should have been received with favor. "Sir Henry Vane, though he might have taken occasion against the colony

1 Winslow's New England's Salamander, 24.

for some dishonor, which he apprehended to have been unjustly put upon him there, yet showed himself a true friend to New England, and a man of a noble and generous mind."[1] After ample deliberation, the committee of parliament magnanimously replied, "We encourage no appeals from your justice. We leave you with all the freedom and latitude, that may, in any respect, be duly claimed by you."[2]

CHAP X. 1647

Such were the arts by which Massachusetts preserved its liberties. The people sustained their magistrates with great unanimity; hardly five-and-twenty persons could be found in the whole jurisdiction to join in a complaint against the strictness of the government; and when the discontented introduced the dispute into the elections, their candidates were defeated by an overwhelming majority.[3]

The harmony of the people had been confirmed by the courage of the elders, who gave fervor to the enthusiasm of patriotism. "It had been as unnatural for a right New England man to live without an able ministry, as for a smith to work his iron without a fire." The union between the elders and the state could not, therefore, but become more intimate than ever; and religion was venerated and cherished as the security against political subserviency. When the synod met by adjournment, it was by the common consent of all the Puritan colonies, that a system of church government was established for the congrega-

[1] Winthrop, ii. 248 and 317.

[2] Hutchinson, i. 136—140, is confused and inaccurate. Was it from ignorance? To correct his errors the inquirer must go to the original authorities—Colony Records; Hutchinson's Collection, 188—218; Winthrop, ii. 278—301, and 317—322; N. E.'s Jonas cast up at London, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iv. 107, &c.; E. Winslow's N. E.'s Salamander Discovered, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ii. 110, &c. See also Johnson, b. iii. c. iii.; Hubbard, c. lv.; Hazard, i. 544, &c.

[3] Winthrop, ii. 307.

CHAP. X. tions.[1] The platform retained authority for more than a century, and has not yet lost its influence. It effectually excluded the Presbyterian modes of discipline from New England.

1650 to 1655. The jealousy of independence was preserved in its wakefulness. The Long Parliament asserted its power over the royalist colonies in general terms, which seemed alike to threaten the plantations of the north; and now that royalty was abolished, it invited Massachusetts to receive a new patent, and to hold courts and issue warrants in its name. But the colonial commonwealth was too wary to hazard its rights by merging them in the acts of a government of which the decline seemed approaching. It has been usual to say, that the people of Massachusetts foiled the Long Parliament. In a public state-paper, they refused to submit to its requisitions, and yet never carried their remonstrance beyond the point which their charter appeared to them to warrant.[2]

1651. After the successes of Cromwell in Ireland, he voluntarily expressed his interest in New England, by offering its inhabitants estates and a settlement in the beautiful island which his arms had subdued. His offers were declined; for the emigrants already loved their land of refuge, where their own courage and toils had established "the liberties of the gospel in its purity." Our government, they said among themselves, "is the happiest and wisest this day in the world."

1651 to 1654 The war between England and Holland hardly disturbed the tranquillity of the colonies. The western settlements, which would have suffered extreme misery from a combined attack of the Indians and the Dutch,

1 Result of a Synod, &c. See also Winthrop and Hubbard. Cotton Mather is diffuse on the subject.

2 Hutchinson, i. App. viii.

were earnest for attempting to reduce New Amsterdam; but Massachusetts could deliberate more coolly, and its elders wisely answered, that the wars of Europe ought not to destroy the happiness of America; that "it was safest for the colonies to forbear the use of the sword, but to be in a posture of defence." The nature of the reserved powers of the members of the union now became the subject of animated discussion; but a peaceful intercourse with Manhattan continued.[1]

CHAP. X.

1654

The European republics had composed their strife, before the fleet, which was designed to take possession of the settlements on the Hudson, reached the shores of America. It was a season of peace between England and France; and yet the English forces, turning to the north, made the easy conquest of Acadia—an acquisition which no remonstrances or complaints could induce the protector to restore.[2]

The possession was perhaps considered a benefit to New England, of which the inhabitants enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell throughout all the period of his success. They were fully satisfied that the battles which he had fought were the battles of the Lord; and "the spirits of the brethren were carried forth in faithful and affectionate prayers in his behalf;" but, at the same time, they charged him to rule his spirit, rather than to storm cities. Cromwell, in return, was moved by the sincerity of their regard; he seems to have found relief in pouring out his heart to them freely; he confessed that the battle of Dunbar, where "some, who were godly," were fought into their graves, was, of all the acts of his life, that on which his mind had the least quiet; and he declared himself "truly ready to

1 Hazard, ii., has all the documents on this subject.
2 Haliburton, i. 61.

CHAP. X. serve the brethren and the churches" in America The declaration was sincere. The people of New England were ever sure that Cromwell would listen to their requests, and would take an interest in all the little details of their condition. He left them independence, and favored their trade. When his arms
1655. had made the conquest of Jamaica, he offered them the island, with the promise of all the wealth which the tropical clime pours prodigally into the lap of industry, and though they frequently thwarted his views, they never forfeited his regard. English history must judge of Cromwell by his influence on the institutions of England; the American colonies remember the years of his power as the period when British sovereignty was for them free from rapacity, intolerance, and oppression. He may be called the benefactor of the English in America; for he left them to enjoy unshackled the liberal benevolence of Providence, the freedom of industry, of commerce, of religion, and of government.[1]

Yet the Puritans of New England perceived that their security rested on the personal character of the protector, and that other revolutions were ripening; they, therefore, never allowed their vigilance to be lulled. The influence of the elders was confirmed; the civil and the religious institutions had become intimately connected. While the spirit of independence was thus assured, the evils ensued that are in some measure inseparable from a religious establishment; a distinct interest grew up under the system; the severity of the laws was sharpened against infidelity on the one hand, and sectarianism on the other; nor

1 Hutchinson's Coll. 233 and ff. State Papers, Case i. File vii. No Hutch. Hist. App. No. ix. x. Mass. 34; File x. No. 77.

can it be denied, nor should it be concealed, that the elders, especially Wilson and Norton, instigated and sustained the government in its worst cruelties.

Where the mind is left free, religion can never have dangerous enemies, for no class has then a motive to attempt its subversion; while the interests of society demand a foundation for the principles of justice and benevolence. Atheism is a folly of the metaphysician, not the folly of human nature. Of savage life, Roger Williams declared, that he had never found one native American who denied the existence of a God; in civilized life, when it was said of the court of Frederic, that the place of king's atheist was vacant, the gibe was felt as the most biting sarcasm. Infidelity gains the victory, when it wrestles with hypocrisy or with superstition, but never when its antagonist is reason. Men revolt against the oppressions of superstition, the exactions of ecclesiastical tyranny, but never against religion itself. When an ecclesiastical establishment, under the heaviest penalties, requires universal conformity, the diversity of human opinion necessarily involves the consequence, that some consciences are oppressed and wronged. In such cases, if the wrong is excessive, intellectual servitude is followed by consequences analogous to those which ensue on the civil slavery of the people; the mind, as it bursts its fetters, is clouded by a sense of injury; the judgment is confused; and in the zeal to resist a tyranny, passion attempts to sweep away every form of religion. Bigotry commits the correlative error, when it endeavors to control opinion by positive statutes, to substitute the terrors of law for convincing argument. It is a crime to resist truth under pretence of resisting injurious power; it is equally a crime to enslave the human

CHAP. X. understanding, under pretence of protecting religion The reckless mind, rashly hurrying to the warfare against superstition, has often, though by mistake, attacked intelligence itself; but religion, of itself alone, never had an enemy; except indeed as there have been theorists, whose harmless ingenuity has denied all distinction between right and wrong, between justice and its opposite. Positive enactments against irreligion, like positive enactments against fanaticism, provoke the evil which they were designed to prevent. Danger is inviting. If left to himself, he that vilifies the foundations of morals and happiness, does but publish his own unworthiness. A public prosecution is a mantle to cover his shame; for to suffer for opinion's sake is courageous; and courage is always an honorable quality.

The conscientious austerity of the colonists, invigorated by the love of power, led to a course of legislation, which, if it was followed by the melancholy result of bloodshed, was also followed, among the freemen of the New World, by emancipation from bigotry, achieved without any of the excesses of intolerant infidelity. The inefficiency of fanatic laws was made plain by the fearless resistance of a still more stubborn fanaticism.

Saltonstall wrote from Europe, that, but for their severities, the people of Massachusetts would have been "the eyes of God's people in England." The con-
1651. sistent Sir Henry Vane had urged, that "the oppugners of the Congregational way should not, from its own principles and practice, be taught to root it out." "It were better," he added, "not to censure any persons for matters of a religious concernment."[1] The elder

[1] iii. Mass Hist. Coll. i. 37

Winthrop had, I believe, relented before his death, and professed himself weary of banishing heretics; the soul of the younger Winthrop was incapable of harboring a thought of intolerant cruelty;[1] but the rugged Dudley was not mellowed by old age. "God forbid," said he, "our love for the truth should be grown so cold, that we should tolerate errors.—I die no libertine."—"Better tolerate hypocrites and tares than thorns and briers," affirmed Cotton. "Polypiety," echoed Ward, "is the greatest impiety in the world. To say that men ought to have liberty of conscience is impious ignorance."—"Religion," said the melancholic Norton, "admits of no eccentric motions." But the people did not entirely respond to these extravagant views, into which the bigotry of personal interest had betrayed the elders, and the love of unity, so favorable to independence, had betrayed the leading men. The public mind was awakened to inquiry; the topic of the power of the civil magistrate in religious affairs, was become the theme of perpetual discussion; and it needed all the force of established authority to sustain the doctrine of persecution. Massachusetts was already in the state of transition, and it was just before expiring, that bigotry, with convulsive energy, exhibited its worst aspect; just as the waves of the sea are most tumultuous when the wind is subsiding, and the tempest is yielding to a calm.

CHAP. X.
1651

Anabaptism was to the establishment a dangerous rival. When Clarke, the pure and tolerant Baptist of Rhode Island, one of the happy few who succeed in acquiring an estate of beneficence, and connecting the glory of their name with the liberty and happiness of

[1] Bishop's N. E. Judged.

CHAP. X. a commonwealth, began to preach to a small audience in Lynn, he was seized by the civil officers. Being
1651. July 20. compelled to attend with the congregation, he expressed his aversion by a harmless indecorum, which would yet have been without excuse, had his presence been voluntary. He and his companions were tried, and condemned to pay a fine of twenty or thirty pounds; and Holmes, who refused to pay his fine, was whipped unmercifully.

Since a particular form of worship had become a part of the civil establishment, irreligion was now to be punished as a civil offence. The state was a model of Christ's kingdom on earth; treason against the civil government was treason against Christ; and reciprocally, as the gospel had the right paramount, blasphemy, or what a jury should call blasphemy, was the highest offence in the catalogue of crimes. To deny any book of the Old or New Testament to be the written and infallible word of God, was punishable by fine or by stripes, and, in case of obstinacy, by exile or death. Absence from "the ministry of the word" was punished by a fine.

1653 By degrees the spirit of the establishment began to subvert the fundamental principles of Independency. The liberty of prophesying was refused, except the approbation of four elders, or of a county court, had been obtained. Remonstrance[1] was useless. The union of church and state was fast corrupting both; it mingled base ambition with the former; it gave a false direction to the legislation of the latter. And at last
1658 the general court claimed for itself, for the council, and for any two organic churches, the right of silencing

1 Felt's Salem, 188 and 533. iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 40.

any person who was not as yet ordained. Thus rapidly did human nature display its power! The creation of a national, uncompromising church, led the Congregationalists of Massachusetts to the indulgence of the passions which had disgraced their English persecutors; and Laud was justified by the men whom he had wronged.

But if the Baptists were feared, as professing doctrines tending to disorganize society, how much more reason was there to dread such emissaries of the Quakers as appeared in Massachusetts! The first and most noisy advocates of any popular sect are apt to be men of little consideration. They who have the least to risk are most clamorous for novelties; and the early advocates of the Quakers in New England displayed little of the mild philosophy, the statesman-like benevolence, of Penn and his disciples; though they possessed the virtue of passive resistance in perfection. Left to themselves, they appeared like a motley tribe of persons, half fanatic, half insane; without consideration, and without definite purposes. Persecution called them forth to show what intensity of will can dwell in the depths of the human heart. They were like those weeds which are unsightly to the eye, and which only when trampled give out precious perfumes.

The rise of "the people called Quakers," was one of the most remarkable results of the Protestant revolution. It was a consequence of the moral warfare against corruption; the aspiration of the human mind after a perfect emancipation from the long reign of bigotry and superstition. It grew up with men who were impatient at the slow progress of the reformation, the tardy advances of intellectual liberty. A

CHAP. X. better opportunity will offer for explaining its influence on American institutions. It was in the month of 1656. July. July, 1656, that two of its members, Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, arrived in the road before Boston.[1] There was as yet no statute respecting Quakers; but, on the general law against heresy, their trunks were searched, and their books burnt by the hangman; "though no token could be found on them but of innocence,"[2] their persons were examined in search of signs of witchcraft; and, after five weeks' close imprisonment, they were thrust out of the jurisdiction. Eight others were, during the year, sent back to England. The rebuke enlarged the ambition of Mary Fisher; she repaired alone to Adrianople, and delivered a message to the Grand Sultan. The Turks thought her crazed, and she passed through their army "without hurt or scoff."

1657. Yet the next year, although a special law now prohibited the introduction of Quakers, Mary Dyer, an Antinomian exile, and Ann Burden, came into the colony; the former was claimed by her husband, and taken to Rhode Island; the latter was sent to England. A woman who had come all the way from London, to warn the magistrates against persecution, was whipped with twenty stripes. Some, who had been banished, came a second time; they were imprisoned, whipped, and once more sent away, under penalty of further punishment, if they returned again. A fine was imposed on such as should entertain any

1 I compose the narrative from comparing the Quaker accounts, by Gould, and Sewell, and Besse, full of documents, with those of the colonial historians. There is no essential difference. Every leading work has something on the subject.—The apologies of the colonists, especially Norton's book, The Heart of N. E. Rent, still exist, and are before me. Compare the life of Mary Dyer, in C. Sedgwick's Tales and Sketches.

2 Sewell, i. 294. Besse, ii. 198—207.

"of the accursed sect;" and a Quaker, after the first conviction, was to lose one ear, after the second another, after the third to have the tongue bored with a red-hot iron. It was but for a very short time, that the menace of these enormities found place in the statute-book. The colony was so ashamed of the order for mutilation, that it was soon repealed, and was never printed. But this legislation was fruitful of results. Quakers swarmed where they were feared. They came expressly because they were not welcome; and threats were construed as invitations. A penalty of ten shillings was now imposed on every person for being present at a Quaker meeting, and of five pounds for speaking at such meeting. In the execution of the laws, the pride of consistency involved the magistrates in acts of extreme cruelty.

CHAP. X.

1658 May.

1658

The government of Massachusetts at length resolved to follow the advice of the commissioners for the united colonies; from which the younger Winthrop alone had dissented.[1] Willing that the Quakers should live in peace in any other part of the wide world, yet desiring to deter them effectually from coming within its jurisdiction, the general court, after much resistance, and by a majority of but a single vote, banished them on pain of death. The object of severity was not to persecute, but to exclude them. "For the security of the flock," said Norton, "we pen up the wolf; but a door is purposely left open whereby he may depart at his pleasure." Vain legislation! and frivolous apology! The soul, by its freedom and immortality, preserves its convictions or its frenzies even amidst the threat of death.

1 Records, in Hazard, ii. Roger Williams, in Knowles, 311. Compare Bishop's N. E. Judged; Hutchinson, i. 184.

CHAP. X. 1658. It has been attempted to excuse the atrocity of the law, because the Quakers avowed principles that seemed subversive of social order. Any government might, on the same grounds, find in its unreasonable fears an excuse for its cruelties. The argument justifies the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, of the Huguenots from France; and it forms a complete apology for Laud, who was honest in his bigotry, persecuting the Puritans with the same good faith with which he recorded his dreams. The fears of one class of men are not the measure of the rights of another.

It is said, the Quakers themselves rushed on the sword, and so were suicides. If it were so, the men who held the sword were accessories to the crime.

It is true that some of the Quakers were extravagant and foolish; they cried out from the windows at the magistrates and ministers that passed by, and mocked the civil and religious institutions of the country. They riotously interrupted public worship; and women, forgetting the decorum of their sex, and claiming a divine origin for their absurd caprices, smeared their faces, and even went naked through the streets. Indecency, however, is best punished by slight chastisements. The house of Folly has perpetual succession; yet numerous as is the progeny, each individual of the family is very short-lived, and dies the sooner where its extravagance is excessive. A fault against manners may not be punished by a crime against nature.

The act itself admits of no defence; the actors can plead no other justification than delusion. Prohibiting the arrival of Quakers was not persecution; and banishment is a term hardly to be used of one who has

not acquired a home. When a pauper is sent to his native town, he is not called an exile. A ship from abroad, which should enter the harbor of Marseilles against the order of the health-officer, would be sunk by the guns of the fort. The government of Massachusetts applied similar quarantine rules to the morals of the colony, and would as little tolerate what seemed a ruinous heresy, as the French would tolerate the plague: I do not plead the analogy; the cases are as widely different as this world and the next; I desire only to relate facts with precision. The ship suspected of infection might sail for another port; and the Quaker, if he came once, was sent away; if he came again, was sentenced to death, and then might still quit the jurisdiction on a promise of returning no more. Servetus did but desire leave to continue his journey. The inquisition hearkened to secret whispers for grounds of accusation; the magistrates of Massachusetts left all in peace but the noisy brawlers, and left to them the opportunity of escape. For four centuries, Europe had maintained that heresy should be punished by death. In Spain, more persons have been burned for their opinions, than Massachusetts then contained inhabitants. Under Charles V., in the Netherlands alone, the number of those who were hanged, beheaded, buried alive, or burned, for religious opinion, was fifty thousand, says father Paul; the whole carnage amounted, says Grotius,[1] to not less than one hundred thousand. America was guilty of the death of four individuals; and they fell victims

[1] Sarpi, Istória del Concil. Trid. L. v. Opere, v. ii. p. 33. E con tutto, che il numero ne' Paesi Bassi tra impiccati, decapitati, sepolti vivi, ed abbruciati aggiugnesse a cinquantamila. Annales, p. 12, ed. 1678. Carnificata hominum non minus centum millia.

CHAP. X. rather to the contest of will, than to the opinion that Quakerism was a capital crime.

1659. Sept. Of four persons, ordered to depart the jurisdiction on pain of death, Mary Dyar, a firm disciple of Ann Hutchinson, whose exile she had shared, and Nicholas Davis, obeyed. Marmaduke Stephenson and William Robinson had come on purpose to offer their lives; instead of departing, they went from place to place "to build up their friends in the faith." In October, Mary Dyar returned. Thus there were three persons arraigned on the sanguinary law. Robinson pleaded in his defence the special message and command of God. "Blessed be God, who calls me to testify against wicked and unjust men." Stephenson refused to speak till sentence had been pronounced; and then he imprecated a curse on his judges. Mary Dyar exclaimed, "The will of the Lord be done," and returned to the prison "full of joy." From the jail she wrote a remonstrance. "Were ever such laws heard of among a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? Have you no other weapons but such laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you. Ye are disobedient and de-
Oct. 27. ceived. Let my request be as Esther's to Ahasuerus. You will not repent that you were kept from shedding blood, though it was by a woman." The three were led forth to execution. "I die for Christ," said Robinson: "We suffer not as evil-doers, but for conscience' sake," were the last words of his companion. Mary Dyar was reprieved; yet not till the rope had been fastened round her neck, and she had prepared herself for death. Transported with enthusiasm, she exclaimed, "Let me suffer as my brethren, unless you will annul your wicked law." She was conveyed out of the

colony; but, soon returning, she also was hanged on Boston common, a willing martyr to liberty of conscience. "We desired their lives absent, rather than their deaths present," was the miserable apology for these proceedings.

CHAP X. 1659

These cruelties excited great discontent. Yet William Leddra was put upon trial for the same causes. While the trial was proceeding, Wenlock Christison, already banished on pain of death, entered the court, and struck dismay into the judges, who found their severities ineffectual. Leddra was desired to accept his life, on condition of promising to come no more within the jurisdiction. He refused, and was hanged.

Christison met his persecutors with undaunted courage. By what law, he demanded, will ye put me to death?—We have a law, it was answered, and by it you are to die.—So said the Jews to Christ. But who empowered you to make that law?—We have a patent, and may make our own laws.—Can you make laws repugnant to those of England?—No.—Then you are gone beyond your bounds. Your heart is as rotten towards the king as towards God. I demand to be tried by the laws of England, and there is no law there to hang Quakers.—The English banish Jesuits on pain of death;[1] and with equal justice we may banish Quakers.—The jury returned a verdict of guilty. Wenlock replied, "I deny all guilt; my conscience is clear before God." The magistrates were divided in pronouncing sentence; the vote was put a second time, and there appeared a majority for the doom of death. "What do you gain," cried Christison, "by taking

[1] Banishment on pain of death used to be very common in English legislation. By the act of Elizabeth, 35, c. i., every dissenter was conditionally so banished. In January, 1652, John Lilburne was banished on pain of death by the parliament.

CHAP. X. Quakers' lives? For the last man that ye put to death, here are five come in his room. If ye have power to take my life, God can raise up ten of his servants in my stead."

The voice of the people had always been averse to bloodshed; the magistrates, infatuated for a season, became convinced of their error; Wenlock, with twenty-seven of his friends, was discharged from prison; and the doctrine of toleration, with the pledges of peace, hovered like the dove at the window of the ark, waiting to be received into its rightful refuge.

The victims of intolerance met death bravely; they would be entitled to perpetual honor, were it not that their own extravagances occasioned the foul enactment, to repeal which they laid down their lives. Far from introducing religious charity, their conduct irritated the government to pass the laws of which they were the victims. But for them the country had been guiltless of blood; and causes were already in action which were fast substituting the firmness and the
1642. charity of intelligence for the severity of religious bigotry. It was ever the custom, and it soon became the law, in Puritan New England, that "none of the brethren shall suffer so much barbarism in their families, as not to teach their children and apprentices so much learning as may enable them perfectly to read the English tongue." "To the end that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers," it was
1647 ordered in all the Puritan colonies, "that every township, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall appoint one to teach all children to write and read; and where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families, they shall set up a grammar school; the masters thereof

being able to instruct youth so far as they may be CHAP. X.
fitted for the university."[1] The press began its work in 1639. "When New England was poor, and they were but few in number, there was a spirit to encourage learning." Six years after the arrival of Winthrop, 1636
the general court voted a sum, equal to a year's rate of the whole colony, towards the erection of a college In 1638, John Harvard, who arrived in the Bay only to fall a victim to the most wasting disease of the climate, desiring to connect himself imperishably with the happiness of his adopted country, bequeathed to the college one half of his estate and all his library. The infant institution was a favorite; Connecticut, and Plymouth, and the towns in the East,[2] often contributed little offerings to promote its success; the gift of the rent of a ferry was a proof of the care of the state; 1645
and once, at least, every family in each of the colonies gave to the college at Cambridge twelve pence, or a peck of corn, or its value in unadulterated wampumpeag;[3] while the magistrates and wealthier men were profuse in their liberality. The college, in return, exerted a powerful influence in forming the early character of the country. In this, at least, it can never have a rival. In these measures, especially in the laws establishing common schools, lies the secret of the success and character of New England. Every child, as it was born into the world, was lifted from the earth by the genius of the country, and, in the statutes of the land, received, as its birthright, a pledge of the public care for its morals and its mind.

1 Col. Laws, 74, 186. So, too, in Connecticut MS. Laws, and in the New Haven Code.
2 Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, 108.
3 Pierce's Harvard College. Winthrop, ii. 214, 216. Everett's Yale Address, 3.

CHAP. X.

There are some who love to enumerate the singularities of the early Puritans. They were opposed to wigs; they could preach against veils; they denounced long hair; they disliked the cross in the banner, as much as the people of Paris disliked the lilies of the Bourbons, and for analogous reasons. They would not allow Christmas day to be kept sacred; they called neither months, nor days, nor seasons, nor churches, nor inns, by the names common in England; they revived Scripture names at christenings. The grave Romans legislated on the costume of men, and their senate could even stoop to interfere with the triumphs of the sex to which civic honors are denied; the fathers of New England prohibited frivolous fashions in their own dress; and their austerity, checking extravagance even in woman, frowned on her hoods of silk and her scarfs of tiffany, extended the length of her sleeve to the wrist, and limited its greatest width to half an ell. The Puritans were formal and precise in their manners; singular in the forms of their legislation; rigid in the observance of their principles. Every topic of the day found a place in their extemporaneous prayers, and infused a stirring interest into their long and frequent sermons. The courts of Massachusetts respected in practice the code of Moses; the island of Rhode Island enacted for a year or two a Jewish masquerade; in New Haven, the members of the constituent committee were called the seven pillars, hewn out for the house of wisdom. But these are only the outward forms, which gave to the new sect its marked exterior. If from the outside peculiarities, which so easily excite the sneer of the superficial observer, we look to the genius of the sect itself, Puritanism was Religion struggling for the People. "Its absurdities,"

says its enemy, "were the shelter for the noble principles of liberty." It was its office to engraft the new institutions of popular energy upon the old European system of a feudal aristocracy and popular servitude; the good was permanent, the outward emblems which were the signs of the party, were of transient duration; like the clay and ligaments with which the graft is held in its place, and which are brushed away as soon as the scion is firmly united.

The principles of Puritanism proclaimed the civil magistrate subordinate to the authority of religion; and its haughtiness in this respect has been compared to "the infatuated arrogance" of a Roman pontiff. n the firmness with which the principle was asserted, the Puritans did not yield to the Catholics; and, if the will of God is the criterion of justice, both were, in one sense, in the right. The question arises, Who shall be the interpreter of that will? In the Roman Catholic church, the office was claimed by the infallible pontiff, who, as the self-constituted guardian of the oppressed, insisted on the power of dethroning kings, repealing laws, and subverting dynasties. The principle thus asserted, though often productive of good, could not but become subservient to the temporal ambition of the clergy. Puritanism conceded no such power to its spiritual guides; the church existed independent of its pastor, who owed his office to its free choice; the will of the majority was its law; and each one of the brethren possessed equal rights with the elders. The right, exercised by each congregation, of electing its own ministers, was in itself a moral revolution; religion was now with the people, not over the people. Puritanism exalted the laity. Every individual who had experienced the raptures of devotion, every be-

CHAP. X. liever, who, in his moments of ecstasy, had felt the assurance of the favor of God, was in his own eyes a consecrated person. For him the wonderful counsels of the Almighty had chosen a Savior; for him the laws of nature had been suspended and controlled, the heavens had opened, earth had quaked, the sun had veiled his face, and Christ had died and had risen again; for him prophets and apostles had revealed to the world the oracles and the will of God. Viewing himself as an object of the divine favor, and in this connection disclaiming all merit, he prostrated himself in the dust before heaven; looking out upon mankind, how could he but respect himself, whom God had chosen and redeemed? He cherished hope; he possessed faith; as he walked the earth, his heart was in the skies. Angels hovered round his path, charged to minister to his soul; spirits of darkness leagued together to tempt him from his allegiance. His burning piety could use no liturgy; his penitence could reveal his transgressions to no confessor. He knew no superior in sanctity. He could as little become the slave of a priestcraft as of a despot. He was himself a judge of the orthodoxy of the elders; and if he feared the invisible powers of the air, of darkness, and of hell, he feared nothing on earth. Puritanism constituted, not the Christian clergy, but the Christian people, the interpreter of the divine will. The voice of the majority was the voice of God; and the issue of Puritanism was therefore popular sovereignty.

The effects of Puritanism display its true character still more distinctly. Ecclesiastical tyranny is of all kinds the worst; its fruits are cowardice, idleness, ignorance, and poverty: Puritanism was a life-giving spirit; activity, thrift, intelligence, followed in its

train; and as for courage, a coward and a Puritan never went together. "He that prays best, and preaches best, will fight best;" such was the judgment of Cromwell, the greatest soldier of his age. CHAP. X.

It was in self-defence that Puritanism in America began those transient persecutions of which the excesses shall find in me no apologist; and which yet were no more than a train of mists, hovering, of an autumn morning, over the channel of a fine river, that diffused freshness and fertility wherever it wound. The people did not attempt to convert others, but to protect themselves; they never punished opinion as such; they never attempted to torture or terrify men into orthodoxy. The history of religious persecution in New England is simply this;—the Puritans established a government in America such as the laws of natural justice warranted, and such as the statutes and common law of England did not warrant; and that was done by men who still acknowledged the duty of a limited allegiance to the parent state. The Episcopalians had declared themselves the enemies of the party, and waged against it a war of extermination; Puritanism excluded them from its asylum. Roger Williams, the apostle of "soul-liberty," weakened the cause of civil independence by impairing its unity; and he was expelled, even though Massachusetts always bore good testimony to his spotless virtues.[1] Wheelwright and his friends, in their zeal for strict Calvinism, forgot their duty as citizens, and they also were exiled. The Anabaptist, who could not be relied upon as an ally, was guarded as a foe. The Quakers denounced the

[1] Backus, i. 155. Winthrop, ii. 193.

CHAP. X. worship of New England as an abomination, and its government as treason; and therefore they were excluded on pain of death. The fanatic for Calvinism was a fanatic for liberty; and he defended his creed; for, in the moral warfare for freedom, his creed was a part of his army, and his most faithful ally in the battle.

For "New England was a religious plantation, not a plantation for trade. The profession of the purity of doctrine, worship, and discipline, was written on her forehead." "We all," says the confederacy in the oldest of American written constitutions, "came into these parts of America to enjoy the liberties of the gospel in purity and peace." "He that made religion as twelve, and the world as thirteen, had not the spirit of a true New England man." Religion was the object of the emigrants; it was also their consolation. With this the wounds of the outcast were healed, and the tears of exile sweetened.[1] "New England was the colony of conscience."[2]

Of all contemporary sects, the Puritans were the most free from credulity, and, in their zeal for reform, pushed their regulations to what some would consider a skeptical extreme. So many superstitions had been bundled up with every venerable institution of Europe, that ages have not yet dislodged them all. The Puritans at once emancipated themselves from a crowd of observances. They established a worship purely spiritual. To them the elements remained but wine and bread; they invoked no saints; they raised no altar; they adored no crucifix; they kissed no book; they

1 Norton's Heart, &c. 58. Norton's choice sermons. 15. Higgins on s Cause of God, 11. Articles of Confederacy.
2 John Q. Adams.

asked no absolution; they paid no tithes; they saw in the priest nothing more than a man; ordination was no more than an approbation of the officer, which might be expressed by the brethren, as well as by other ministers;[1] the church, as a place of worship, was to them but a meeting-house; they dug no graves in consecrated earth; unlike their posterity, they married without a minister, and buried the dead without a prayer.[2] Witchcraft had not been made the subject of skeptical consideration; and in the years in which Scotland sacrificed hecatombs to the delusion, there were three victims in New England. Dark crimes, that seemed without a motive, may have been pursued under that name; I find one record of a trial for witch craft, where the prisoner was proved a murderess.[3]

On every subject but religion, the mildness of Puritan legislation corresponded to the popular character of Puritan doctrines. Hardly a nation of Europe has as yet made its criminal law so humane as that of early New England. A crowd of offences was at one sweep brushed from the catalogue of capital crimes. The idea was never received, that the forfeiture of life may be demanded for the protection of property; the punishment for theft, for burglary, and highway robbery, was far more mild than the penalties imposed even by modern American legislation. Of divorce I have found no example; yet a clause in one of the statutes recognizes the possibility of such an event. Divorce from bed and board, the separate maintenance without the dissolution of the marriage contract,—an anomaly in Protestant legislation, that punishes the innocent more than the guilty,—was utterly abhorrent from their prin

1 Trumbull's Conn. i. 283.
2 Shepherd's Clear Sunshine, 36. 3 Records, ii. 54, 55.

CHAP. X. ciples. The care for posterity was every where visible Since the sanctity of the marriage-bed is the safeguard of families, and can alone interest the father in the welfare and instruction of his offspring, its purity was protected by the penalty of death; a penalty which was inexorably enforced against the guilty wife and her paramour.[1] If in this respect the laws were more severe, in another they were more lenient, than modern manners approve. The girl whom youth and affection betrayed into weakness, was censured, pitied, and forgiven; the law compelled the seducer of innocence to marry the person who had imposed every obligation by the concession of every right. The law implies an extremely pure community; in no other would it find a place in the statute-book; in no other would public opinion tolerate the rule. Yet it need not have surprised the countrymen of Raleigh, or the subjects of the grand-children of Clarendon.[2]

The benevolence of the early Puritans appears from other examples. Their thoughts were always fixed on posterity. Domestic discipline was highly valued; but if the law was severe against the undutiful child, it was also severe against a faithless parent. The slave-trade was forbidden under penalty of death. The earliest laws, till 1654, did not permit any man's person to be kept in prison for debt, except when there was an appearance of some estate which the debtor would not produce.[3]—Even the brute creation was not forgotten; and cruelty towards animals was a civil offence.—The sympathies of the colonists were wide; a regard for Protestant Germany is as old as emigration; and, during the thirty years' war, the whole

1 Winthrop, ii. 157—159. 2 Pepys' Diary, i. 81. 3 Col Laws, 48

people of New England held fasts and offered prayers for the success of their Saxon brethren. CHAP. X.

The first years of the residence of Puritans in America, were years of great hardship and affliction; it is an error to suppose that this short season of distress was not promptly followed by abundance and happiness. The people were full of affections; and the objects of love were around them. They struck root in the soil immediately. They enjoyed religion. They were, from the first, industrious, and enterprising, and frugal; and affluence followed of course. When persecution ceased in England, there were already in New England "thousands who would not change their place for any other in the world;" and they were tempted in vain with invitations to the Bahama Isles, to Ireland, to Jamaica, to Trinidad. The purity of morals completes the picture of colonial felicity. "As Ireland will not brook venomous beasts, so will not that land vile livers." One might dwell there "from year to year, and not see a drunkard, or hear an oath, or meet a beggar."[1] The consequence was universal health—one of the chief elements of public happiness. The average duration of life in New England, compared with Europe, was doubled; and the human race was so vigorous, that of all who were born into the world, more than two in ten, full four in nineteen, attained the age of seventy. Of those who lived beyond ninety, the proportion, as compared with European tables of longevity, was still more remarkable.

I have dwelt the longer on the character of the early Puritans of New England, for they are the

[1] New England's First Fruits, printed 1643, p. 23, 26.

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parents of one third the whole white population of the United States. Within the first fifteen years,—and there was never afterwards any considerable increase from England,—we have seen that there came over twenty-one thousand two hundred persons, or four thousand families. Their descendants are now not far from four millions. Each family has multiplied on the average to one thousand souls. To New York and Ohio, where they constitute half the population, they have carried the Puritan system of free schools; and their example is spreading it through the civilized world.

Historians have loved to eulogize the manners and virtues, the glory and the benefits, of chivalry. Puritanism accomplished for mankind far more. If it had the sectarian crime of intolerance, chivalry had the vices of dissoluteness. The knights were brave from gallantry of spirit; the Puritans from the fear of God The knights were proud of loyalty; the Puritans of liberty. The knights did homage to monarchs, in whose smile they beheld honor, whose rebuke was the wound of disgrace; the Puritans, disdaining ceremony, would not bow at the name of Jesus, nor bend the knee to the King of Kings. Chivalry delighted in outward show, favored pleasure, multiplied amusements, and degraded the human race by an exclusive respect for the privileged classes; Puritanism bridled the passions, commanded the virtues of self-denial, and rescued the name of man from dishonor. The former valued courtesy; the latter, justice. The former adorned society by graceful refinements; the latter founded national grandeur on universal education. The institutions of chivalry were subverted by the gradually-increasing weight, and knowledge, and opu-

lence of the industrious classes; the Puritans, rallying upon those classes, planted in their hearts the undying principles of democratic liberty. CHAP. X.

The golden age of Puritanism was passing away. 1660
Time was silently softening its asperities, and the revolutions of England prepared an era in its fortunes. Massachusetts never acknowledged Richard Cromwell; it read clearly in the aspect of parties the impending restoration. The protector had left the benefits of self-government and the freedom of commerce to New England and to Virginia; and Maryland, by the act of her inhabitants, was just beginning to share in the same advantages. Would the dynasty of the Stuarts deal benevolently with the colonies? Would it imitate the magnanimity of Cromwell, and suffer the staple of the south still to seek its market freely throughout the world? Could the returning monarch forgive the friends of the Puritans in England? Would he show favor to the institutions that the outcasts had reared beyond the Atlantic?

END OF VOL. I